1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Arch Street Friends Meeting House

Other Name/Site Number:

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 320 Arch Street Not for publication:

City/Town: Philadelphia Vicinity:

State: PA County: Philadelphia Code: 101 Zip Code: 19106

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property		Category of Property	
Private:	X	Building(s):	X
Public-Local:	___	District:	___
Public-State:	___	Site:	X
Public-Federal:	___	Structure:	___
		Object:	___

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing
1	___ buildings
1	___ sites
___	___ structures
___	___ objects
2	___ Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 1

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	RELIGION	Sub: religious facility
Current:	RELIGION	Sub: religious facility
	RECREATION AND CULTURE	Sub: museum (interpretation center)

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Federal; Georgian
Other: Quaker Plain Style

MATERIALS: Brick
Foundation: stone
Walls: brick
Roof: standing seam; terne coated stainless steel
Other:

Summary

The Arch Street Meeting House, the home of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (PYM) of the Religious Society of Friends, is nationally significant under Criterion 4 for its association with Quaker master builder and builder's handbook author Owen Biddle, and as an embodiment of the distinguishing characteristics of the Plain-style architectural form. It holds national significance under Criterion 1 as a representation of the ideal of Liberty of Conscience as the decisive factor in the formation and continued attainment of American democracy and equality, and as a motivation in the struggle for social justice and for charitable outreach. Based on these areas of significance, Arch Street Meeting House is eligible for NHL consideration under Exception 1.

Erected between 1803 and 1811, the Meeting House is the only known extant work of Owen Biddle (1774-1806), an accomplished Philadelphia carpenter/builder and author of *The Young Carpenter's Assistant; A System of Architecture Adapted to the Style of Building in the United States* (1805), one of the earliest books on architecture written in America. His design for the Arch Street Meeting House, an elegant expression of the Friends' tenet of "plainness" or simplicity, retains a remarkably high level of integrity. As the heart of Quaker William Penn's colony, the PYM played a key role in the transfer of the Quaker religion to the colonies and the exchange of information and ideas, making it the most influential of the yearly meetings of American Friends. First as colonial proprietors and later as religious leaders and social activists, Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting have been on the forefront of activities to promote freedom of expression and social justice for over three centuries.

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Arch Street Meeting House is a symmetrically balanced three-part building constructed of Flemish-bond brick. The center pavilion, which contains the lobby and a committee room to the rear of it, has a gable-front roof and a central entryway. It is flanked on each side by large five-bay wings with low-hipped roofs. The east wing contains a men's meeting room and the west wing contains a women's meeting room, each with its own centrally placed entry. The Meeting House is elegantly understated and therefore, despite its Georgian architectural styling and refined construction, is in keeping with Quaker plainness. The original section erected in 1804 consisted of the existing east meeting room and the existing center pavilion of two stories, creating an L-shape configuration. The construction of another meeting room in 1811 completed its U-shape as originally planned. A monthly meeting room was added inside the U in 1968, behind the centrally located committee room. The windows are twelve-over-twelve light sash with paneled shutters on the first story; on the second story there are eight-over-eight-light windows (no shutters). The rear elevations of the flanking meeting sections are lit by oversized twenty-over-twenty-light sash windows centered on the wall and lighting the area behind the facing benches. Each section of the three-part building has a double-door entryway at the center of the front façade, covered by a portico. The doors are batten (vertical board) and hung by large strap hinges. There are doorways at the exterior side elevations of both the men's and women's meeting room wings, also covered by porticos, and a doorway on the opposite side of these rooms opening into what was, before the 1968 addition, the rear U-shaped courtyard back of the committee room.

The Flemish-bond brick facades include a water table and an exposed coursed ashlar stone foundation; the water table is broken to either side of the doorways to allow the open doors to rest against the wall. The site slopes from east to west at a height of about three feet, which meant that the 1811 west floor levels, windows, and doors had to be dropped to relate to the lower grade.[1] The roof, originally covered by cedar shingles (replaced in 1851), was covered with tin in 1874. In the center of each section of the three-part north wall there is double-door entryway covered by a portico.[2] The Tuscan order columns that support the porticos have all

[1] The change in level is disguised by the continuation of the 1804 cornice level across the 1811 building and the use of the same architectural details.

[2] The porches are an isolated case of North Midlands England's lingering influence on U.S. Quaker architecture. See David

survived. The doors are hung by large strap hinges, closed with bar latches, and locked with rib locks or sliding bolts; those on the wings are each eight-paneled with flush boarding on the inner face. In the gable front roof of the central pavilion the cornice forms a pediment that contains the date stone ("1804"). The hipped roofs over the flanking meeting room sections are topped by lanterns. There is a single dormer located to the rear of the western section. The large number of doorways was needed to accommodate the throngs of Friends gathering in the building and to provide access to the "necessaries" outside at the rear (no longer extant).

As with the doorways, the fenestration on the east, north, and west facades remains as it was designed in 1803. The south rear, which was not considered a prominent façade, bore the renovations and additions that seemed appropriate, from windows and necessaries in the nineteenth century to kitchens and restrooms in the twentieth. The earliest renovation to Biddle's building was a window in the south side of the west wing, added in 1815. The windows in the other facades, by comparison, are notable not only for their preservation and size but for their large, intact collection of crown glass, a blown and imported glass considered superior to the ordinary windowpanes of the day. Most original hardware and shutters are also intact.[3] Paneled shutters on the ground floor assured security, while louvered shutters on the second floor of the wings—none were needed on the north façade—controlled light.

The interior reveals elements specific to Quaker architecture. The two meeting rooms were built with facing benches (raised benches for ministers and elders) at the south end, a center aisle running north-south and dividing the main floor seating, side and rear galleries built on raised platforms for better sightlines, and stairways leading to a youth's balcony above the north end.[4] A sounding board, an early acoustical device adapted from the work of Benjamin Latrobe, arched over the facing benches.[5] In 1820, east and west balconies and other features were added to the east room. Above them is an attic with four unusually long east-west oak king-post trusses supporting the gabled roof and two queen-post trusses holding up the north and south roof hips.[6] The attic above the west wing contains similar trusses.

The many stairways in the building, almost all products of the original construction, show only subtle differences: they are uniformly "dog-legged" (flights to and from the landings head in different directions) and closed-string (with the tread and riser ends hidden by friezes and architraves), with elongated classic balusters, based on rectangular plinths, straight hand rails, and square newels topped with turned flat knobs.[7] In keeping with Quaker plain style, these and other interior features were left unpainted until the early-twentieth century: the doors and columns alone were painted, and the walls whitewashed. The center committee room originally had fireplaces on the east and west walls, while the meeting rooms were heated by "Franklin-type" stoves. The fireplaces were closed in 1814 and a forced-air furnace was installed in the cellar. The west fireplace was reopened in 1902.

Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 479.

[3] The shutters hang on wrought-iron strap hinges and have holdfasts to keep them open, rings to pull them shut, and slide bolts to keep them closed.

[4] Early Quakers applied the term "gallery" inconsistently to both stepped platforms such as the facing benches and to balconies, because of their zeal to avoid the term "balcony," which was tainted by its association with the theater. See Lee H. Nelson and Penelope Hartshorne Batcheler, *An Architectural Study of Arch Street Meeting House of the Religious Society of Friends, Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1968), ii.

[5] Quaker Thomas Parker had solicited advice from Latrobe, who was known to be interested in acoustics. In 1803, Latrobe furnished him a treatise about buildings in Europe, such as Paris's *Halle au Ble,* that incorporated curved ceilings. See Paul F. Norton, "Latrobe's Ceiling for the Hall of Representatives," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 10 (May 1951): 2, 5-10.

[6] See Owen Biddle, *Young Carpenter's Assistant* (1805) (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 2006), Plate 24.

[7] A complete discussion of architectural details is found in Nelson and Batcheler's *An Architectural Study of Arch Street Meeting House,* including a paint chronology.

The west wing, or West Room, followed the design of the East Room and is the least altered interior in the building, with its only obvious addition being a glass-sash partition built under the north balcony in 1868 to reduce the size of the room (and conserve heat) as membership waned. It hosts the now combined yearly meeting and other Quaker events and serves as an interpretation and outreach center for the many visitors who are attracted to the building. Interesting features for tourists, besides the sounding board and the modesty panel along the stairway to the girls' (east side) balcony, include crown glass, the original never-varnished plank flooring, two benches purported to be from the seventeenth century and brought from older meeting houses, and traditional horsehair cushions on the benches. Muted colors lend the large room a distinctive, Quakerly appearance.

Over time, the Arch Street Meeting House has been modernized to meet the needs of contemporary Friends.[8] Kitchen additions were made in 1902 and 1908, built between the west wing and center building. Owing to the decline in the Quaker population and an increasing number of visitors, the East Room became a dining and exhibition space in 1954 with only the facing benches and balconies intact. In 1968, a new monthly meeting room filled in the U-shaped south courtyard, and this portion of the building was air-conditioned.[9] The West Room, however, despite heating and lighting changes, remains virtually the way it was meant to be. And the facades—north, east, and west—also appear as they did in 1811, Quaker in style albeit influenced by the Georgia and Federal architecture of the day.

The second floor is occupied currently by meeting rooms used by various committees and for special events. The original layout of this floor is not known. According to an 1873 survey, the area was divided into five rooms by stud and board partitions; there were three rooms on the south side and two rooms and a passageway on the north. The rooms were referred to originally as "committee rooms" although by 1808 one was being used as a library. In 1878, one of these rooms was converted for use as a small dining room. In 1902, the second floor was altered significantly; the partitions were removed and a large dining room was created. New flooring was also added to the second floor at this time.

The attic remains unfinished and the entire 1804 (and 1811) roof structure is intact. Six east-west trusses carry the attic floor joists, rafters, ridge beam, purlins, secondary rafters, shingle lathing, and wood shingle roof. Modified queen-post trusses with center post and intermediate diagonal bracing are found at the north and south ends. The remaining bays are supported by modified king-post trusses with intermediate posts and bracing. These trusses are identical to those illustrated in architect/builder Owen Biddle's *Young Carpenter's Assistant*.

The Arch Street Meeting House sits on a 2.21-acre lot, surrounded by Flemish-bond brick walls, built to enclose the burying ground before the construction of the Meeting House. Construction began on the current walls in 1801, to replace the crumbling walls erected soon after the burying ground was deeded to Friends in 1701. The ground was leveled at that time, covering burial markers that were extant at that time. Although Friends graves have been marked at various periods, because of the plainness testimony, they were traditionally unmarked, making the construction of walls to establish boundaries and protect the graves that much more important. Despite the lack of marked burial sites currently, the vault at Arch Street Meeting House contained records of the interments.[10] Most of the burials now lie beneath the parking lot to the rear of the Meeting House. Entryways from the street to the property pierce the boundary wall: one in the center of the Arch Street side aligned with the main entrance to the Meeting House; a second nearer to the Fourth Street corner, now altered to

[8] Nelson and Bachelor, Appendix 1, contains the original plans and plans of the modern-day building.

[9] The two entrance porticos on the 1968 addition are detailed to closely match the two on each side and the three on the north façade. The interior details are also faithful to the original.

[10] The records of the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia, which include the records of interments, were transferred to the Quaker Collection at Haverford College in 2008.

an entrance for wheelchairs; a third in the center of the Fourth Street side, giving access to the south side of the Meeting House; and a fourth at the southern end of the Fourth Street wall, giving access to the parking lot. The entryways have decorative iron gates.

Burial Grounds and Archeological Remains

Because of the large number of burials recorded on this plot and based on land use history, it is reasonable to assume that a large number of burials remain below ground. Although the remains may be in various levels of preservation, certainly the possibility of these remains providing important archeological, osteological, social and cultural information is present. Only cursory archeological study of these remains has been undertaken and this document does not include any comparative context or evaluation for understanding significant information potential at the local, state or national level, thus this documentation cannot address eligibility under Criterion D for the National Register or Criterion 6 for NHL status.[11] However, because of the Friend's practice of leaving graves unmarked, archeology may be the only indicator of general grave location, number of interments, the location and grave goods associated with significant figures in history that are recorded as being buried here, and other significant categories of information as noted above. This should be of significant concern when managing the property and should be of interest in any future updates to the documentation.

A comparison of the Arch Street property description in the 1701 William Penn patent (land grant), to Edward Shippen and Samuel Carpenter as trustees, with the most recent site survey done by a professional land surveyor in 1975 reveals that the property boundaries remain essentially the same.[12] A number of transactions with neighboring property owners over the past three centuries have changed the eastern and southern borders to some extent, but the same "L" shape and the total land area (2.21 acres today versus 2.25 acres originally) are largely unchanged. The original frontage along Arch Street, then called Mulberry Street, was recorded as 360′. Today it is 317′-1″; the difference, a plot 42′-11″ wide at the 3rd Street (eastern) end, was sold in 1975. It contained then, as it does now, an apartment house and commercial spaces (including the former Friends Bookstore). At about the same time, the remaining eastern section of the property was enlarged southward by purchase of a 17′-10″ wide parcel. The area to the south of the meeting house, now used as a parking lot, was widened to the east by a total of 16′-11″ during the nineteenth century. The north-south boundary along 4th Street is listed as 352′-6″ in the Penn grant whereas the 1975 survey shows it as 355′-4″. The 1701 grant also reveals the intent of Penn's conveyance:

> ...to have and hold the said two pieces of ground [described as two lots] ...Edward Shippen & Samuel Carpenter shall apply it to the intent and purposes hereafter mentioned….to the use and behoof of the People called Quakers in Philadelphia with whom I am in communion & who are & shall be in union and fellowship with the yearly meeting of the said People of London for *a Burying Place and...to such uses intents & purposes as the Monthly Meeting of the said People of Philadelphia shall at any time hereafter direct*.[13]

Set aside as the first formal burial ground for Friends in Philadelphia, Penn allowed them to determine the best use of the property beyond that purpose. The Friends purportedly enclosed the burying ground with a pale (stake) fence about 1693, and it was used concurrently as a pasture for livestock and at one time during its early

[11] For archeology in Philadelphia, with a mention of Arch Street Meeting House, see: John L. Cotter, Daniel G. Roberts, and Michael Parrington, *The Buried Past: An Archaeological History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992). See also: Rebecca Yamin, *Digging in the City of Brotherly Love: Stories from Philadelphia Archaeology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

[12] The information in this section provided via electronic correspondence from R. Thomas Unkefer, Chair of the National Historic Landmark Working Group of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, to Catherine C. Lavoie, 24 Jan. 2010.

[13] As transcribed in George Vaux, "The Burial Ground and Buildings at Arch and Fourth Streets," *The Friend* 63 (1889-90): 194 (italics by preparer).

history also accommodated a school building.[14] A more permanent, 5′-0″-high brick wall was erected around the entire parcel in 1727-28.[15] The PYM meeting minutes from July 1738 make the first reference to the construction of a meeting house at this location. At this time, the meeting considered the question of erecting a new meeting house and determined that the burial ground was the most appropriate site; however, this decision was not realized until the construction of the present building.[16]

Although Penn's gift of land for a burial ground was not officially deeded to the trustees of the meeting until October 1701, the first interment is believed to have occurred there in 1683.[17] This interment was that of Mary Lloyd, wife of Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, and Penn himself was in attendance at the funeral.[18] The earliest extant record book lists deaths and burials beginning in 1689.[19] The burial records are incomplete and the exact number of interments at Arch Street is not known. Meeting historian Willman Spawn has reported that there are over 7,000 interment slips (permissions to bury) contained in bound volumes originally kept in the vault at Arch Street.[20] The slips reveal the names of those who were interred, but not the locations, and some estimates of the total number of burials run as high as 13,000.[21] Quaker burial grounds in Philadelphia were not limited to members of the Society and there are many unidentified, non-members are interred there, particularly blacks and "strangers" denied burial elsewhere. During times of distress, such as in the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, the grounds were opened to the public for rapid burials without the time or interest for record keeping.[22]

Another difficulty in accounting for the number of interments at Arch Street was the Friends' practice to leave graves unmarked. The Discipline of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting specifically forbade grave markers until the last quarter of the nineteenth century (at which point the Arch Street burying ground was filled), referring to them as "Marks of Superfluity and excess" deemed "inconsistent with the plainness of our Principles and Practice."[23] Because gravestones, particularly those upright or bearing inscriptions, were considered by many Quakers as contrary to the testimony of simplicity, they remained a matter of ongoing controversy.[24] Still, despite the letter of the Discipline, there were still once a great many gravestones on the Arch Street property. Indeed, the process of grading and preparing the site for the construction of the meeting house resulted in the removal of many markers, which were subsequently buried in a pit.[25] Today, only four marked gravestones and one unmarked one are visible in the landscape.

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[14] Ibid., 202. Vaux's information is drawn from the 1693-94 minutes.

[15] Ibid., 2.

[16] Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 4th month (July) 1738, as cited in Vaux, 202. According to Vaux, while it was determined that this was the proper location for the meeting house, a subscription would have to be establish to raise money. Here Vaux also speculates that the space allocated was then occupied by the school and objections to its removal may have caused them to then abandon the idea of a meeting house on this site.

[17] Vaux suggested the title was not deeded sooner because they were awaiting Penn's return to the colony. Vaux, 194.

[18] John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1830), 390.

[19] "*A Booke of record of bierthes and burials in Philadelphia in the Province of Penezlvania in Amerrica, 1677-1808*," RG2/Ph/P46 (microfilm 365), Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

[20] The Meeting's early records were transferred to Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, in 2008.

[21] A PYM estimate, as the graves were often stacked two or three deep, adding to the difficulty in estimating numbers.

[22] An essay produced by the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, entitled "Quaker Burial Grounds in Philadelphia," notes: "When it became necessary to dig deeper foundations [for new buildings at 302 and 304 Arch Street in 1915], what was surmised to have been pits dug at the time of the Yellow Fever epidemic (1793) were discovered – this conclusion was reached because the skeletons were laid in a variety of directions." See "Quaker Burial Grounds in Philadelphia, 1683-present," note 13, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, www.swarthmore.edu/library/friends/philaburials3.htm (accessed December 10, 2009), note 13.

[23] "Quaker Burial Grounds in Philadelphia," 1.

[24] There is evidence that suggests some markers were buried with the dead, and most were only minimally inscribed with a name and date, no epitaph, intended as a place marker rather than a memorial.

[25] Writing in 1890, Vaux claimed that the site of the pit is located just south of the meeting house near the (no longer extant) wall

Records indicate that at one time or another almost the entire site was utilized for burials, and in particular the southern section now serving as a parking lot.[26] Evidence exists of interments in the area of the meeting house, and even encroaching into the roadway along Arch Street.[27] In 1795, the resolution made in 1738 to erect a meeting house on this site was revived, and the proposed building footprint was marked during the following year in order to deter further burials in that vicinity.[28] By this time, the property was crowded with burials and open space was dwindling. Because of this, as plans for construction of the meeting house moved forward, the Friends also made significant changes the grounds and to the pattern of burials on the site. In 1801-02, the original 5′-0″-high brick wall surrounding the property was replaced by the present 9′-0″-high wall. The ground was then graded both in preparation for the new building and to accommodate further interments. It was decided "that by removing the earth from the part of the lot that was high, to other parts much lower, and hereafter burying in rows, it would answer the purpose of a burial place for a considerable number of years."[29] Before this period, interments were generally grouped by family, and presumably allocated designated space for additional family members. From the early nineteenth century forward, burials were arranged in rows and placed chronologically as deaths occurred. The change followed what is known as the "Quietist" period in Philadelphia Quaker history, an era that witnessed the introduction of numerous reforms aimed at strengthening both the Discipline and the cohesiveness of the Society. Friends' burial practices were no exception to the desire to subjugate the needs of the individual to those of the larger group. According to historian Aaron V. Wunsch, "Paying no heed to family ties or other interpersonal connections, the 'range' or 'row' system called for long lines of single graves, filled sequentially as the need arose." Thus, "group cohesion and conformity" were deemed more important than self or family. As a result, beginning in 1801, Philadelphia Friends "remade their old graveyard at Fourth and Arch Streets as a model of collective self-reform."[30] Depleting space and the rising value of urban land meant that efficient allocation of interments was of the upmost importance for the Arch Street property.

When construction began on the meeting house in 1803, some burials were uncovered and a few re-interments were made; however, Friends generally followed the decision made before the project started that "there is no necessity to remove the Remains of the Dead, for a foundation."[31] In 1817, as part of a partition of the Arch Street property, it was determined that burials should take place "in that part which lies along the Fourth Street side for about 160′ south of Arch Street." Burials there were discontinued in 1833, at which point "a small square plot" was designated for them "at the southeast corner, east of the meeting house."[32] The last burial

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of the Say family burying ground, and that it was rediscovered fifty years prior (ca.1840) when the pit caved in (Vaux, 202). Plat maps indicate that the Say plot adjoins the meeting house property in the crux of the "L."

[26] According to R. Thomas Unkefer, during the past forty years that he and several others have been members of the Meeting, evidence of extensive use of the property for burials has been found by contractors working on the site. For example, when excavating to restore the fence along the east property line in 2006, the contractor unearthed three more stones, set vertically, which had been covered in place with a foot and a half of soil. The earliest is inscribed simply—"Mary Jervis 1743".

[27] When laying pipes along Arch Street near the eastern end of the meeting house in September 1824, several coffins in corresponding rows were uncovered. Watson observed in 1830 that "The tradition of this encroachment of the street on the former ground was known to some of the ancients." Watson, 390.

[28] Vaux, 202.

[29] Ibid., Vaux quotes Elizabeth Drinker's diary entry for November, 9, 1801, "They are leveling Friends' burying ground, as I saw from J. Downing's window. A shameful innovation in my opinion."

[30] Aaron V. Wunsch, "Parceling the Picturesque: 'Rural' Cemeteries and Urban Context in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia," diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2009, 55-56, pages included as an attachment in electronic correspondence from Aaron V. Wunsch to Catherine C. Lavoie, 10 Dec. 2009.

[31] Joint Committee Minutes, 4th month (April) 1796. An architectural study conducted in 1968 concluded that only a crawl space, rather than a full cellar, was excavated, apparently to avoid disturbing burials. Similarly, bodies were discovered in the northeast corner of the property when the Friends Library and Bookstore was built in 1843-44. "Quaker Burial Grounds in Philadelphia," 3.

[32] Vaux, 203. The "partition" was made to differentiate the use (and maintenance) of the property among the general population of Friends and that of the four district meetings within Philadelphia that meet here.

within this plot was made in November 1851. Meanwhile, in response to the wishes of elderly Friends, in 1848 a "strip of ground 24 feet in width from east to west, and eighty feet in length from north to south, situate[d] in the North East corner of [the] burial ground" in the area to the rear of the meeting house was set aside "for the interment of those aged Friends, and other members of the four monthly meetings in the City who may particularly desire their remains placed therein."[33] By this time, however, burials at Arch Street were few and far between.[34] In 1823, an alternate burial location was established, the Western Burial Ground located in the block between Race and Cherry, and 16th and 17th streets, and the Fair Hill Burying Ground was subsequently laid out in 1843.[35] The last recorded burial at Arch Street was in 1872.[36] In 1896, mounds created as part of the 1848 addition of land to the rear (south) of the meeting house were accidently leveled in preparation for the addition of a restroom facility to the west wing of the meeting house; this addition was removed in 1968 to make way for the new wing at the center of the building.

The southern section of the property had been used for access to the back of the meeting house and for casual parking for many years. During the 1930s and 1940s, the meeting maintained a playground there; however, the area began to be used for organized parking for Friends and employees when the addition to the Meeting House was built in 1968, and it has since been surfaced in gravel for that purpose. Although Friends generally do not think of this as hallowed ground, due to their lack of veneration for monuments to the dead, George Vaux wrote in 1890 that "The premises at Arch and Fourth streets have been designated by some as 'The Westminster Abbey of the Society of Friends [in America]. Whether this be appropriate or not, within the enclosure repose the remains of many worthies who were prominent in their day...The memorials of these are not found in carved monuments or lettered tablets, but are better preserved in the testimonies issued by their contemporaries."[37]

[33] Joint Committee Report, 11th month (November) 13, 1848.

[34] Writing in 1890, Vaux claimed, "It may be said practically no interments have been made in the Fourth street ground for fifty-six years (203)."

[35] The site was actually purchased in 1817, and recorded burials took place here between 1823 and 1884. "Quaker Burial Grounds in Philadelphia," 5.

The Fair Hill plot was set aside for a meeting house and burying ground by George Fox in 1686, from land that he received from Penn in 1681. Despite a handful of burials as early as 1707, the property was not fully utilized until formally laid out in the 1840s, in all likelihood because of its distance from the city center. "Quaker Burial Grounds in Philadelphia," 12; see also http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/friends/ead/4069fahi.xml.

[36] Vaux, 203.

[37] Ibid.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: __ Locally:

Applicable National Register Criteria: A X B __ C X D

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A X B __ C __ D __ E __ F __ G

NHL Criteria: 1 and 4, Exception 1

NHL Theme(s):
I. Peopling Places
4. community and neighborhood
II. Creating Social Institutions and Movements
2. reform movements
III. Expressing Cultural Values
1. education and intellectual currents
IV. Shaping the Political Landscape
1. parties, protests, and movements

Areas of Significance:
Architecture
Politics/government
Religion
Social history

Period(s) of Significance: 1803-1954

Significant Dates:

1803-1811	Construction
1833	Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society and the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society
1863	Friends Freedmen Association
1837	Institute for Colored Youth, the oldest HBCU in the nation
1917	American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)
1947	AFSC receives the Nobel Peace Prize
1954	The Orthodox and Hicksite sects of the Religious Society of Friends formally reunite at the Arch Street Friends Meeting House

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect/Builder: Owen Biddle

Historic Context:

XVI. Architecture
C. Federal (1780-1820)
1. Other (Plain Style)
XXXI. Social and Humanitarian Movements
D. Abolitionism

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Summary Statement

The Arch Street Meeting House, the home of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (PYM) of the Religious Society of Friends, is nationally significant under Criterion 4 for its association with Quaker master builder and builder's handbook author Owen Biddle and as an embodiment of the distinguishing characteristics of the Plain-style architectural form. It also holds national significance under Criterion 1 as a representation of the ideal of Liberty of Conscience as the decisive factor in the formation and continued attainment of American democracy and equality, and as a motivation in the struggle for social justice and for charitable outreach.[38] Based on these areas of significance, Arch Street Meeting House is eligible for NHL consideration under Exception 1.

Erected between 1803 and 1811, the Arch Street Meeting House is the only known extant example of the work of Owen Biddle (1774-1806). Biddle was an accomplished Philadelphia carpenter/builder, and a member of a founding Quaker family, one that immigrated to the colony upon its formation in 1681. Most importantly, Biddle was the author of *The Young Carpenter's Assistant; A System of Architecture Adapted to the Style of Building in the United States* (1805). It is one of the earliest books on architecture written in America, and is among the "One Hundred Great Books Most Influential in Shaping the Architecture of the Western World."[39] The building project for which Biddle is best known is the Arch Street Meeting House, a building that embodies both innovative design features illustrated in his handbook, and the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural form used by plain-style religious groups.[40] The Arch Street Meeting House is also an elegant expression of the Friends' tenet of "plainness" or simplicity which, as a Quaker himself, Biddle undoubtedly understood and strove to express. While maintaining the proportions, symmetry, and basic styling of Georgian architecture, the meeting house is elegantly understated in order to remain in keeping with Quaker tenets. Its design is the culmination of over 100 years of experimentation to create a building plan that was both functional and in keeping with Friends' testimonies regarding equality by providing identical accommodations for both the men's and the women's business meetings. As such, the Arch Street Meeting House stands as a reaffirmation of the commitment to supporting equality of the sexes as established by the first yearly meeting in 1681, and espoused by Society of Friends founder, George Fox, and Margaret Fox, his wife.[41]

As the home of the PYM of the Religious Society of Friends, Arch Street Meeting House is associated with Liberty of Conscience, an ideal fundamental to both Quaker tenets and, with an emphasis on freedom and equality, to the founding of the United States. First as colonial proprietors and later as religious leaders and

[38] The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting is both an administrative body and an annual event. It encompasses individual meetings throughout Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and parts of Maryland that come together each year to discuss broader issues that relate to the functioning and outreach of the Society. The PYM also includes "standing committees" and "working groups" to address particular issues and/or act for the meeting when not in session. According to the organization structure, a group of geographically associated meetings congregate to form "monthly meetings" to discuss business on a monthly basis. Various monthly meetings join to form "quarterly meetings" that meeting four times per year for similar purposes on a larger scale. These business meetings also include the discussion of concerns that are carried through the monthly and quarterly meetings to the yearly meeting where they may eventually become part of the "queries" or "testimonies" of Friends.

[39] Carroll L.V. Meeks, "Books and Buildings, 1449-1949," J*ournal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 8 (Jan.-Jun. 1949): 63.

[40] This group includes the Quakers, Shakers, Mennonites, and Amish.

[41] The first yearly meeting of Delaware Valley Friends was held in Burlington, New Jersey. Friends had already started to settle in "West Jersey" in the 1670s, prior to the establishment of the Pennsylvania Colony in 1681. Thus, the first yearly meetings were held in Burlington from 1681 to 1685, and then alternatively at Burlington and Philadelphia until 1760 when the sessions moved permanently to Philadelphia. In this context, it is important to note that the PYM encompasses meetings throughout Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, both historically and currently, and at times has included those in parts of Maryland as well.

social activists, Friends of PYM have been at the forefront of activities to promote freedom of expression and social justice for over three centuries. Friends' accomplishments range from the creation of the 1701 *Charter of Privileges* that guaranteed religious freedom to Pennsylvanians to some of the earliest and most ardent defenses of abolition and the betterment of freedmen, to the establishment and work of the American Friends Service Committee that was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947. As a concept of the Enlightenment, Liberty of Conscience is intertwined with the ideals of freedom of thought and religion without which American democracy and equality could not have been attained. This concept was first-and-foremost in the minds of the Founding Fathers when they outlined a system of government based upon the mandated separation of church and state. In addition to laying the groundwork for American Liberty, the Friends of the PYM created what is considered one of its greatest icons, the Liberty Bell. The bell is now associated with the American Revolution and the signing of the Declaration of Independence (after it rung freedom on 4 July 1776), but it was actually created to mark the fiftieth anniversary of Penn's *Charter of Privileges*. The Liberty Bell was likewise adopted during the Civil War era by the American Anti-Slavery Society as a symbol of the abolitionist movement.

From the standpoint of Friends, Liberty of Conscience also confers social responsibility to protect the rights of each individual and to attend to the needs of the oppressed and impoverished. It is in this context that Liberty of Conscience formed the guiding principle behind Friends' religious tenets and their belief in the Inner Light, or "that of God in every man," and by extension, the political and social activism that has defined them throughout their history. There is hardly a significant political or social reform movement for which Friends of the PYM have not played a major role including religious liberty, separation of church and state, anti-slavery, civil rights and the rights of Native Americans, freedmen, women, and other oppressed people; the asylum movement, prison reform, public and private education (included that of freedmen), and the peace movement. Friends' beliefs also inspired an atmosphere of freedom of conscience that provided fertile ground for all manner of learned pursuits, and Philadelphia's emergence as one of the cultural and intellectual centers of the colonies, as well as the most sacred of those sites associated with American liberty, stemmed, in large part, from its association with the Friends. As Frederick Tolles explains, "Penn's commitment to a sophisticated ideal of religious freedom meant that the intellectual life of his colony would never stagnate for want of controversy and the creative clash of opinions."[42] The Arch Street Meeting House is the long-standing cultural, social, and religious center of the PYM; no other single site or building better represents the substantial contributions of Friends to Pennsylvania and to the nation, particularly in the arena of American political and social ideals.

Owen Biddle and His Role in American Architecture

Beginning in 1803, the Arch Street Meeting House was designed and built by Quaker master builder Owen Biddle. In his time Biddle was among Philadelphia's most prominent carpenter/builders, yet relatively little is known of him today because his promising career was cut short by his untimely death in 1806. Biddle was born into a prominent Philadelphia Quaker family; the Biddle family was among those who immigrated to the colony upon its formation in 1681. Owen Biddle, Sr. was a clock and watchmaker, astronomer, mathematician, and active member of the American Philosophical Society, conducting astronomical experiments on its behalf. In his later years, prior to his death in 1799, he was extremely active in the Yearly Meeting and was among those responsible for the creation of the well-known Westtown School. His son, Owen Biddle, Jr. was born in 1774. He trained as a carpenter and began teaching "the rudiments of architecture" about 1800, the same year that he was accepted as a member in the influential Carpenters' Company.[43] He worked with fellow carpenter Joseph Cowgill from 1799 to 1801, but otherwise operated independently to serve a mostly Quaker clientele. He also often functioned as the builder for buildings designed by others. Such was the case with the domed Greek Temple style Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (1805-1806, no longer extant). Designed by gentleman

[42] Frederick B. Tolles, *Quakers in the Atlantic Culture* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1960), 118.
[43] Biddle, 20. The phrase in quotations is Biddle's own, from the preface to his book.

architect John Dorsey, it was among the buildings that confirmed Biddle's reputation as a builder. Biddle is also well-known for his role in the construction of the landmark Schuylkill Permanent Bridge (1798-1805, no longer extant); the bridge company president wrote that the bridge covering "was executed with singular fidelity and credit, by Mr. Owen Biddle, an ingenious carpenter and architect of Philadelphia who made addition to the design."[44] Of his known works, the Arch Street Meeting House is considered Biddle's principal accomplishment, one which he both designed and constructed.[45]

Biddle is best remembered as the author of an influential builder's handbook entitled *The Young Carpenter's Assistant, or a System of Architecture adapted to the Style of Building in the United States*, published in 1805. The book—which contains forty-four plates including his design for the innovative truss used in the construction of Arch Street Meeting House—was one of the earliest handbooks on architecture written and published in the United States. Preceded only by William Pain's *The Practical Builder* (Boston, 1792), and Asher Benjamin's *Country Builder's Assistant* (1797), it was the third of only nineteen such books and articles written in America during the entire eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[46] Biddle's book was published during the early rise of the professional architect as distinct from the amateur designers and carpenter/builders responsible for building design during the colonial era. According to Kenneth Hafertepe and James O'Gorman, editors and contributors to *American Architects and Their Books to 1848*, this transition began with books, specifically with Biddle's *The Young Carpenter's Assistant,* and Asher Benjamin's *The Country Builder's Assistant* (1797). As they inform us, "Their [Benjamin and Biddle] books—marking a change in the history of American architecture—were milestones along the halting march leading to the professional class of architect which emerges in the nineteenth century."[47] Books such as *The Young Carpenter's Assistant* were also instrumental in the diffusion of architectural trends to even remote areas of the country. It is ranked among other seminal books on architecture published before 1850 such as Asher Benjamin's *The American Builder's Companion* (Charleston, 1806), Peter Nicholson's *The Carpenter's New Guide, 8th ed*. (from the 6th London ed., Philadelphia, 1818), Minard Lafever's *The Modern Builder's Guide* (New York, 1833), and Andrew Jackson Downing's *Cottage Residences* (New York, 1842); it is still in print today.

The Young Carpenter's Assistant was a rare and valuable commodity in early nineteenth-century America. Before the first architectural schools were created in this country in the post-Civil War era (beginning with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1865), architectural training occurred through apprenticeship. Likewise, most building design and construction was undertaken not by architects, but by master builders or those, like Biddle, who considered themselves mere carpenter/builders. The latter were dependent upon on-the-job experience and observation, and whatever drawings, sketchbooks, or limited publications they could acquire. As a self-described house carpenter and teacher of architectural drawing, Biddle worked in an era before the advent of pattern books and other useful references and was interested in creating a guide for carpenter/builders such as himself.[48] While a few such sources did exist at the time, they were of English origin and thus deemed inappropriate to the conditions found in America. In his preface to *The Young Carpenter's Assistant* Biddle writes,

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[44] American Architects and Buildings Database, "Owen Biddle (1774-1806)," accessed online, 8 Oct. 2009, www.philadelphiabuildings.org.

[45] Michael J. Lewis, "Owen Biddle and The Young Carpenter's Assistant," in *American Architects and Their Books to 1848*, ed. Kenneth Hafertepe and James F. O'Gorman (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 150.

[46] According to two different sources, Biddle's book was the second to be published in the United States. However, Meeks's article on the 100 most influential books claims that it was second to Pain's book, and according to historian Michael Lewis, it was second only to Benjamin's book. See Meeks, 63, and Lewis, 149. See also Jeffrey A. Cohen, "Building a Discipline: Early Institutional Settings for Architectural Education in Philadelphia, 1804-1890," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53 (Jun. 1994): 142, and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr. *American Architectural Books* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University, 1939).

[47] Kenneth Hafertepe and James F. O'Gorman, ed., *American Architects and Their Books to 1848* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), xx.

[48] Biddle (2006 reprint), 1.

> Having been for some time past in the practice of teaching the rudiments of Architecture, I have experienced much inconvenience for want of suitable books on the subject. All that have yet appeared have been written by foreign authors, who have adapted their examples and observations almost entirely to the style of building in their respective countries, which in many instances differs vary [sic.] materially from ours. Hence the American Student of Architecture has been taxed with the purchase of books, two thirds of the contents of which were, to him, unnecessary, when at the same time, in a large and expensive volume of this kind, he has not always been able to find the information he wanted.[49]

Biddle was also interested in introducing formal training to Philadelphia's young carpenters and thus may have seen his book as a supplement to classroom instruction. Although much of the information provided by the *Young Carpenter's Assistant* is, Biddle admits, largely derived from high-style English texts, he made the information understandable to the average house carpenter, and applicable to local conditions.[50] As a member of the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia, the oldest existing trade guild in America, Biddle was the first to propose the establishment of an architectural training program under the Company's patronage, in January 1804. Philadelphia was among the few American cities in which local institutions had begun to promote architectural education through various activities ranging from lectures to more formalized training. Thomas Nevell, who gave private lessons "in the Art of Drawing Sundry Propositions in Architecture" in the mid-1760s, and briefly conducted a school about a decade later, may have been the first to teach architectural delineation in Philadelphia.[51] Although the school was short-lived, Stephen Hallet announced the opening of a "School of Architecture" in 1796.[52] And, of course, Biddle himself was also among those offering private instruction. Despite these initiatives, Biddle's proposal for an architectural training program was rejected.[53] It did, however, finally came to fruition in 1834 when George Strickland (brother of well-known architect William Strickland) taught the first organized classes in architectural training at the Carpenters' Company, using Biddle's book as the basic text.[54]

Although Biddle's intended audience was the young carpenter/builder rather than the nascent architect, his book emphasizes the value of architectural delineation and advocates for the use of elements of high-style classical architecture. Based on Roman and Greek antecedents, the style was deemed an appropriate architectural expression for the new American republic; a belief Biddle understood and endorsed. His preface states, "The four Orders of Architecture have been selected from such of the remains of ancient buildings as are supposed to be the most beautiful; and Palladio has been generally allowed to have been the best judge among the Moderns, who have given the proportions of the remains of Antiquity; the proportions in this book are pretty nearly the same as his."[55] Biddle goes on to relay the necessary proportions for the various elements of each of the orders.

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Biddle willingly gives credit to William Pain, author of *The Builder's Companion, and Workman's General Assistant* (1758), *Pain's British Palladio* (1788), and *The Practical House Carpenter; or, Youth's Instructor* (1789), and Peter Nicholson, author of *The New Carpenter's Guide* (1792, reprinted 1793 and 1825).

[51] Jeffery Cohen, "Building a Discipline: Early Institutional Settings for Architectural Education in Philadelphia, 1804-1890." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 23 (Jun. 1994): 40.

[52] Lewis, 152.

[53] Biddle proposed that "a Committee of five Members be appointed to take into consideration the expediency of forming as establishment under the patronage of this company, for the purpose of Teaching the different branches of Architecture &cc. and if in the opinion of this committee such as establishment should be proper, they are directed to draw out a plan for carrying the same into effect [sic.], and lay it before the Company at the next stated meeting. Carpenters' Company Minutes, cited in Cohen, p. 140. Lewis contends that the Company's members were motivated to reject Biddle's proposal by their desire to dominate the local building practices and safeguard its trade secrets. As evidence, he points to the fact that they had their own guidebook or *Articles*, copies of which were signed and numbered, reclaimable upon the death of its holder.

[54] Carl G. Karsch for the Independence Hall Association, "First School for Architects," accessed online, 9 Oct. 2009, www.ushistory.org/

[55] Biddle (2006 reprint), 47.

Similar advice is given for determining proportions for elements such as mantels. Biddle gives instructions for assembling roof trusses and also outlines the framing of arches and even that of domes. As historian Michael J. Lewis claims of Biddle, "He strove to elevate carpenter-builders to the level of their professional competitors."[56] Carpenters' guidebooks and training programs of the era were responding in part to both a growing public awareness about architectural styles, particularly early Classical Revival, and the need for builders to become more conversant with such designs. It was during this period that architects began to distinguish themselves from amateur designers and carpenter/builders. Among the marks of the professional architect was the ability to draw, producing for their clients visually compelling architectural renderings of the proposed building.[57] In recognition of this, Biddle's book discusses the how-to of architectural delineation. Biddle himself produced a very fine set of drawings for the Arch Street Meeting House (preserved at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia), including a perspective view of the proposed front façade.

Publications such as Biddle's were also responsible for the move towards a national architectural culture. In the past, a vast array of regional building practices and indigenous materials characterized American architecture. As already suggested, local building traditions were generally communicated by word of mouth or by individual drawings and sketchbooks. Emerging architectural professionals and arbiters of good taste were thus able to differentiate themselves and their work through their architectural libraries, collecting and utilizing books such as Biddle's. According to Lewis, "A manual of architectural education in the eighteenth-century sense—in which builders and carpenters became architects by mastering drawing and, in particular, the drafting of the classical orders—Biddle's book also anticipated the restless architectural culture of the nineteenth century, with its profusion of pattern books and increasing preoccupations with matters of fashion and style."[58] Biddle himself had an architectural library of fifteen books, including those that he cites as sources of information in his own book: William Pain's *Builders Companion* (London, 1762) and Peter Nicholson's *The Principles of Architecture* (London, 1809).[59]

Biddle's guidebook was widely circulated during the first half of the nineteenth century and, as was the practice at the time, its publication was funded through subscription. The majority of his original 198 subscribers were builders and carpenters in the Philadelphia region, many of whom were well-known in the profession, but subscribers also came from Lancaster and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Baltimore, Maryland; Bristol, Rhode Island; and Lexington, Kentucky.[60] The book was first published by Philadelphia printer Benjamin Johnson in 1805, and another press-run or imprint soon followed. A second imprint was released in 1810, followed by others in 1815 and 1817. A second edition appeared in 1833, at which time the book was revised and supplemented by John Haviland, one of early nineteenth-century Philadelphia's leading architects. Haviland included an introduction and twenty of his own plates in the new edition, aptly titled *An Improved and Enlarged Edition of Biddle's Young Carpenter's Assistant*. This edition was likewise reprinted in 1837, 1854, and 1858; it was most recently republished in 2006. Much like Biddle before him, Haviland acknowledged that most instructive publications of this sort were published abroad, and thus their content was "not calculated for the use of this country, or if so, the Editors have been ignorant of our customs, manners, and climate."[61] The initiative begun by Biddle, and furthered by Haviland in the new edition, was to create working drawings that could be

[56] Lewis, 158.
[57] Hafertepe, et al., xv-xvi.
[58] Lewis, 149.
[59] Ibid, 155. The books were listed in the inventory of Biddle's estate.
[60] Ibid, 153. Subscribers included noted carpenters Joseph Cowgill, John C. Evans, John Ogden and John Dorsey. Some of the distant subscribers bought multiple copies, presumably with the idea of local distribution.
[61] Matthew Baigell, "John Haviland in Pottsville," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 26 (December 1967): 307. As Baigell indicates, Haviland revised the book without altering its focus or intent, printing the original in its entirety and merely updating it with new examples of significant building forms taken from his own work. Prior to revising Biddle's book, Haviland attempted to create and edit an architectural journal, which would have been among the first in the country had he been successful.

used as models for various building types—such as country villas, churches, banks, courthouses, etc.—that were suitable to the American milieu. Haviland used Biddle's work as one that exemplified his own intended purpose of creating a guidebook suitable for America. By doing so, he demonstrated its value to American builders and architects, who were still in need of practical information a generation or two later.

Arch Street as a Key Example of Quaker Architecture and Aesthetics

The PYM of the Religious Society of Friends was established in 1681. Prior to the construction of the current building the annual sessions were held in numerous earlier meeting houses, none of which are extant. The earliest yearly meetings were actually held in Burlington, New Jersey ("West Jersey" having been settled by Friends prior to establishment of the Pennsylvania colony). The first meeting house of Friends in Philadelphia was the so-called "Boarded Meeting House" of ca. 1683, located on Front Street, and it was there that yearly sessions were held. Two other impermanent buildings, known as the First Bank and Center Square meeting houses (both erected ca. 1685), were also used. In 1696, the "Great Meeting House" was constructed of brick at Second and High (Market) streets. Yearly meetings were held on an alternating basis here and in Burlington, until Philadelphia became the permanent home of the yearly meeting in 1760. By this time, the Great Meeting House no longer had the capacity to hold both the men's and the women's meetings, and thus one or the other meeting was forced to gather in another meeting house in town. Contributing to the lack of space, none of the city's meeting houses were designed to accommodate yearly meeting sessions, but were instead designed for the general use of Philadelphia Friends for worship and business meetings. Meeting houses from this period contained two unequally sized rooms—one large room intended to accommodate the entire population for meeting for worship that could also be used for men's business meetings and a smaller room for use by the women's business meeting (they therefore lacked the capacity needed for yearly sessions). Although a new meeting house was erected on the site in 1755 to replace the Great Meeting House its principal function again was to facilitate the regular meeting for worship of Philadelphia Friends, and thus it contained the traditional rooms of unequal size. Men's and women's yearly sessions continued to be held in separate meeting houses. The situation resulted in considerable inconvenience, especially in regard to the inability of the men's and women's meetings to communicate readily with one another. It was not until the completion of the Arch Street Meeting House that equally sized meeting rooms were built to accommodate men's and women's meetings under the same roof and a permanent home was established for the annual sessions as well as for the overall functions of the yearly meeting.

Construction of Arch Street Meeting House began in the fall of 1803. At that time, the east wing and center section of the meeting house were erected according to drawings developed by Owen Biddle. Biddle's meeting house as it was designed is true to its current form. It was planned that the east meeting room and centrally-located committee room be erected first, with the west meeting room to follow once funds were available. Biddle lived only long enough to see the first phase completed; the annual session of the women's yearly meeting was held here for the first time in April 1805. The west wing was begun and substantially completed in 1810 and ready for use for the yearly meeting sessions in April of 1811. At that time the men's meeting was placed in the east section, and the women's meeting was moved to the newly completed western section. Since 1811, both meetings of PYM (as well as the Philadelphia Monthly and Quarterly Meetings) have been held at Arch Street Meeting House.[62] Following the schism that divided Friends into Orthodox and Hicksite branches, Arch Street remained the yearly meeting house of the Orthodox Friends.[63] The PYM was finally reunited in

[62] The original monthly meeting had grown so large by 1772 that is was divided into the Northern and Southern district meetings, to which was added a Western District Meeting in 1814, each with its own meeting house.

[63] The Race Street Friends Meeting House was constructed by the Hicksites in 1856-57 to accommodate their yearly meeting sessions. It became a NHL in 1993 as part of a women's history theme study for its role in the Women's Suffrage and Women's Rights movements and its association with Lucretia Mott and Hannah Clothier Hull. See Page Putnam Miller and Jill S. Mesirow, National Historic Landmark Nomination for "Race Street Friends Meetinghouse," National Park Service, U.S. Department of the

1955 at Arch Street Meeting House. Today Arch Street Meeting House also serves as a conference facility and Quaker interpretive center; the west room provides space for meetings for worship and business meetings while the east room is now a multi-purpose space.

The Arch Street Meeting House maintains a remarkably high level of architectural integrity. This is particularly true of the front façade and the west meeting room, neither of which has undergone significant change in nearly two-hundred years of existence. According to a study of the meeting house undertaken in 1968 by National Park Service historical architects Lee Nelson and Penelope H. Batcheler, "It is unusual for a building of this antiquity to retain so many of its original exterior features including the cornice, the porches, steps, doors and windows; but certainly the most remarkable survivals are the sash which still contain most of their original panes of crown glass...probably the largest concentration in the Philadelphia area."[64] While the east meeting room has undergone some changes to accommodate other types of gatherings and exhibit space (mostly consisting of the removal of some elements rather than new additions), the west meeting room is kept in museum quality condition. According to the Nelson/Batcheler report, "Except for the ca. 1868 [addition of a] movable glass partition under the north balcony, there have been no changes in arrangement or disposition of architectural features here [in the west room]. Unlike the east room that was remodeled in 1820, all stairways, balconies, facing gallery, side galleries, and stepped platforms remain intact."[65] In addition, the original roof structure is entirely intact. Modified queen-post trusses with center post and intermediate diagonal bracing are found at the north and south ends. The remaining bays are supported by modified king-post trusses with intermediate posts and bracing. These trusses are identical to those illustrated in architect/builder Owen Biddle's *Young Carpenter's Assistant*. Most interior features, such as the doors, hardware, moldings, and flooring, are also original. With the exception of a new monthly meeting room, kitchen and rest room facilities to the rear of the Meeting House and some structural reinforcement of roof trusses, the Meeting House has changed little since this report.

The Tenet of Plainness

The architectural style of meeting houses in general was determined by the Friends adherence to plainness, with most reflecting the style and building practices of the local vernacular. Society of Friends founder George Fox did not see the need for elaborate buildings such as those built by the Anglican Church, which he referred to as "steeple houses," believing that they inspired patterned and idolatrous worship. As Fox asserted, God dwells not "in temples made with hands," but "in the hearts of men."[66] Thus he sought to eliminate ritualistic and material displays of religious practice and return to a more primitive form of Christianity known in the days of Christ and his disciples. Early Friends met in houses or barns, or even in the open air, later creating plain-style meeting houses. Plainness was intended as a political rather than a fashion statement, encouraging Friends to be thrifty with their resources in order to provide for the greater good. As William Penn once said, "The very trimmings of the vain world could clothe all the naked one." As the architect of the Arch Street Meeting House, Owen Biddle understood the need to reflect these ideals in his design. The examples used in his *Young Carpenter's Assistant* clearly indicate that Biddle was well-versed in the fundamentals of high-style classicism, yet at Arch Street he practiced the economy of design used to brand this and other meeting houses as Quaker institutions.[67] While overtly "plain," it is still the most urbane meeting house constructed within the realm of the PYM, which has led some to call it "the greatest of Philadelphia's meeting houses."[68]

Interior, prepared 1992.

[64] Lee Nelson and Penelope Hartshorne Batcheler, *An Architectural Study of the Arch Street Meeting House, Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Prepared for the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, October 1968).

[65] Ibid.

[66] Acts 17.24 as cited in O.S. Chedburn, "Theology and Architecture in the Tradition of the Meeting House," *The Friends Quarterly* no. 2 (April 1977): 61-62.

[67] There has been some controversy about the Quaker plainness testimony as applied to their homes, particularly those of the

Plainness generally called for the deliberate stripping away of superfluous details, although Friends did not shy away from quality materials and fine craftsmanship. To illustrate the difference between the architecture of the Quaker elite and that of the mainstream elite, Frederick B. Tolles compares the home of Penn's secretary James Logan with that of wealthy Virginia contemporary William Byrd: "Stenton, the Logan mansion, is a superb example of early Georgian in basic design and proportions. But it is almost wholly lacking in the distinctive Georgian vocabulary of decorative details—pediments, columns, pilasters, Palladian windows, and the rest. Comparison with the equally lovely but much more showy mansion which William Byrd built at the same period at Westover clearly reveals the distance between the sophisticated taste of Virginia gentlemen and the principles of plainness of the Quaker merchant."[69] Virtually the same could be said of the Arch Street Meeting House in comparison with other forms of ecclesiastic architecture in Philadelphia or elsewhere. Historian of religion and architecture, Peter W. Williams concurs with Tolles' assessment of Delaware Valley Quaker meeting houses stating, "During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, meeting house design followed in general ways the fashion of the times, although always avoiding excessive ornament."[70] Arch Street is just that; it is handsome, well-built, and satisfyingly proportioned to create a Georgian building in its purest form, without pretension.

The Meeting House Type

In terms of interior layout, Quaker settlers in the Pennsylvania colony adhered to a pattern for meetings established in England that informed how their meeting houses were arranged. Colonial Friends met according to an English plan whereby a large central room, with a facing bench from which the ministers and elders oversaw the meeting, accommodated the entire meeting for worship. This same room was used for men's business meetings. A smaller adjoining room accommodated the women's business meeting. However, given autonomy to experiment with meeting practice as well as building design, the colonial Friends eventually deviated from English practices, developing their own distinct meeting patterns and building forms. It was within PYM during the latter part of the eighteenth century that a prototype was developed for the American Friends meeting house that was used for nearly a century. The symmetrically balanced two-cell or "doubled" form contains equal apartments for men's and women's business separated by a retractable wood partition (that was raised for united worship and lowered during separate business meetings). A facing bench runs continuously through both rooms. This meeting house form was first initiated in 1768 with the construction of the Buckingham Meeting House (NHL, 2002), within the Bucks Quarterly Meeting of the PYM.

By the early nineteenth century this form was adopted by nearly every meeting embarking on the construction of a new meeting house. It would be used for decades to come. Besides Buckingham, seven other meeting houses of the doubled type were erected within PYM between 1768 and 1803, when Arch Street was constructed. Arch Street Meeting House varied from this plan in that the two meeting rooms were not separated by a retractable partition. Instead, Arch Street's meeting rooms were separated by the lobby/stair hall with the Committee Room to the rear of it. Meeting Houses of varying plans were still being constructed after the doubled type was introduced at Buckingham, but after the construction of Arch Street, not a single new meeting house built within PYM would be erected without equal-size rooms for men and women. In addition, after Arch Street, many older meeting houses were modified to conform to the new pattern. Thus, it is likely that the diffusion of the doubled type throughout PYM (and within the realm of other yearly meetings) was also facilitated by its use in the Arch Street Meeting House. Not only did Friends gathering for annual sessions have

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wealthy merchant class. Owen Biddle's examples in his book may also attest to the fact that Quaker homes could be quite fashionable. Not so with meeting houses.

[68] Michael J. Lewis, "Owen Biddle and The Young Carpenter's Assistant," in *American Architects and Their Books to 1848*, ed. Kenneth Hafertepe and James F. O'Gorman (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 150.

[69] Frederick B. Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), 86.

[70] Williams, 49.

the opportunity to see it and to experience its conveniences, its use by PYM served as affirmation of its acceptability by the most influential members of the Society.

The doubled meeting house that allowed for equal, gender-specific meeting rooms did not appear in England (where the Society of Friends originated), making it a distinctly American form. English architect David M. Bulter attributes this type to the manifestation of the American Friends "even-hand equality" with regard to the treatment of men and women. More than any other religious denomination, Quakers provided women equal status, including consistently and routinely allowing them to become ministers and elders. Given the opportunity for leadership within their society, it is no surprise that Quaker women played central roles in social movements such as abolition and women's rights.[71] In the case of the Arch Street Meeting house, the impetus for its construction came from the women of the yearly meeting. For the sake of convenience, they wanted to accommodate the men's and women's yearly meetings in a single building, as opposed to the use of separate meeting houses as had occurred in the past. The completed meeting house contained a central hall and committee room flanked by identical men's and women's meeting rooms. By creating a building type that accommodated both sexes equally, the Arch Street Meeting House stands as a reaffirmation of the commitment to supporting both men's and women's meeting for business established by the first yearly meeting of Delaware Valley Friends held in Burlington in 1681. George Fox, who founded the Society of Friends in England in the 1650s, advocated separate meetings for men and women as a means of insuring active participation by women in Quaker proceedings.[72] However, English Friends— unlike their colonial counterparts—did not consistently hold women's meeting for business, despite urging from American Friends to do so.

The Arch Street Meeting House expands upon the doubled building form established by Buckingham Meeting House by adding a large central "Committee Room" and smaller second-floor meeting rooms, and a fire-proof vault in which important documents could be safely stored (kitchen and dining facilities were added later). These are unique features of the Arch Street Meeting house, reflecting its use as the site of the yearly meeting sessions and other aspects of the administrative workings of the Society.[73] The Committee Room and other meeting rooms on the second floor were designed to facilitate the working of the various Quaker committees and thus reflect the considerable social outreach by the Friends of PYM. No other yearly meeting erected a large central meeting house with separate meeting rooms for men and women, prior to Arch Street. Likewise, no other yearly meeting house provided space for committee meetings and other functions, making Arch Street the most sophisticated of the American meeting houses erected to accommodate yearly meeting business and activities.

The Arch Street Meeting House has been the site of the annual meeting sessions of PYM continuously since 1805; it is the largest Quaker meeting house in the United States and the only one of its complex functionality.[74] Thus, in the context of the development of the American Friends meeting house, Arch Street is extremely

[71] Frost, 119-120. See also the NHL nomination for Race Street Meeting House in Philadelphia, nominated in part for its role (and that of Quaker Lucretia Mott) in the women's rights movement.

[72] It was felt that the women might be overshadowed by their more aggressive male counterparts. In practice, the women's business meeting dealt primarily with social concerns such as marriage and aid to the needy, while the men's meeting considered issues of policy and finance. Despite this fact, the attempt to place women on a par with their male counterparts was a radical one for its day, and reflects a social consciousness indicative of Quaker beliefs.

[73] The only other meeting house within the PYM to include a committee room is the Germantown Meeting House, built in 1869. In this case, however, the committee room doubled as the gathering place for the men's business meetings, rather than containing traditional dual apartments for men and women separated by a partition. The Arch Street Meeting House also provided space for the Philadelphia Monthly and Quarterly meetings.

[74] The Race Street Meeting House was erected in 1857, following the schism that divided Friends into Hicksite and Orthodox factions, and it too contains equivalent spaces for men and women as well as other meetings rooms, etc. Race Street now includes a modern addition for the offices of the PYM, AFSC, FGC, and the Quaker Information Center thus allowing for the preservation of the older Arch Street Meeting House were the annual sessions are still held.

innovative, while at the same time manifesting long-held Quaker beliefs and traditions. The size and the sophistication of the Arch Street Meeting House reflect its unique status. As the heart of Quaker William Penn's colony, the PYM played a key role in the transfer of the Quaker religion to the colonies and the exchange of information and ideas. This distinction made it the most influential of the yearly meetings of American Friends during the colonial era, forming a vital link with their English counterparts via the London Yearly Meeting.[75] It has been estimated that by 1780 there were about 75,000 Quakers in the colonies, from Maine to the Carolinas. Many of these came first to the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania and later migrated to other areas. A full one-third of that population, however, remained in Pennsylvania where the largest numbers of individual meetings were formed.[76] At least 150 meetings were established within PYM, and most of their meeting houses are still standing. As a majority stakeholder, PYM influenced Friends practice nationwide. The other colonial meetings looked to PYM in the same manner that Philadelphia looked to the parent organization in London for advice and the exchange of epistles and traveling ministers. The epistles of only these two yearly meetings were published and distributed throughout the Quaker world. While all yearly meetings are autonomous, its special history made the PYM "the most prestigious of American Quaker bodies" and "the first among equals" as described by Quaker historian H. Larry Ingle.[77] It remains a highly prominent yearly meeting to the present day, representing the largest concentration of Quaker meetings, schools, organizations, and archives and artifacts relating to Quaker heritage in the nation. As a result, Philadelphia has been referred to as the "culture hearth" of the Society of Friends.[78]

PYM continued to maintain a leadership role in the spread of Quaker ideals in America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and into the present day. Although it was Elias Hicks of the New York Yearly Meeting that emerged as the leader of the Hicksite movement that bears his name, it was at Arch Street Meeting House in 1827 that the schism between Orthodox and Hicksite Friends first occurred. It created a ripple effect throughout the Quaker world as other yearly meetings followed their lead.[79] And it was at Arch Street that Friends were finally reunited in 1954. However, it was also within the Philadelphia meeting that early efforts at reconciliation paved the way towards eventual reunification, such as the formation of the Friends General Conference (FGC) in 1900, and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), in 1917. Founded in 1900, FGC has grown from a voluntary organization of seven yearly meetings created to hold a "general conference" every other year into an association of fourteen yearly meetings and regional groups and nine directly-affiliated monthly meetings that serves Quakers year-round with a vast array of programs and services including inter-faith and race relations. The AFSC works around the globe for social and economic justice and to help those in need.

Due to the presence of the PYM, the Philadelphia area has remained a stronghold of Quaker culture and activism for over three centuries. The PYM is, and always has been, the largest concentration of Quaker meetings in the country, with 103 active meetings and forty-seven schools, including the highly regarded

[75] The leadership role of the PYM in this regard was negated for a period, beginning in 1857. A schism that occurred in 1827 divided Friends into Orthodox and Hicksite groups. In 1857, the Orthodox Friends at Arch Street opted to sever all communication with other yearly meetings in order to avoid a second schism that occurred among Orthodox Friends of other yearly meetings. By the turn of the century this was no longer the case.

[76] Pennsylvania Historical Survey Division of the Community Service Program, Work Projects Administration, *Inventory of Church Archives, Society of Friends in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Friends Historical Association, 1941), 10.

[77] H. Larry Ingle, 5, 66.

[78] Peter W. Williams, *Houses of God: Region, Religion & Architecture in the United States* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 14.

[79] The schism also argues for the influence of PYM at that time, since it occurred within PYM. As H. Larry Ingle has noted, the separations that occurred within the Baltimore, Indiana, New York and Ohio Yearly Meetings in the wake of the PYM split, "would not have occurred without the example of Philadelphia...[they] marked the way, setting the example and giving an air of legitimacy to rendering asunder the fabric of unity among Friends." H. Larry Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict; the Hicksite Reformation* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1998), 225.

colleges of Haverford and Swarthmore. It is also worth noting that the vast majority of the meeting houses maintain an astounding level of architectural integrity. Given their numbers and the fact that together they span over 300 years of development, the meeting houses of the PYM constitute the single most comprehensive and significant grouping in America. In fact, they are among the finest collection of a vernacular building form of any type in the Delaware Valley dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The area encompassed with the PYM also maintains extensive archives and sources of information on Quaker heritage and outreach, including the Quaker Information Center, the national headquarters of the AFSC and FGC, the Friends Historical Library (at Swarthmore College), the Quaker Collection (at Haverford College), as well as holdings within local non-Quaker museums and archives such as the Atwater Kent and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.[80] For these reasons, noted historian of religion Peter W. Williams refers to Philadelphia as the "culture hearth" of the Society of Friends.[81]

Finally, the land on which the Arch Street Meeting House is built is to be considered hallowed ground.[82] The property was granted to the Friends by William Penn, who on December 28, 1701 dedicated it to the Quakers of Philadelphia "for a burying place" which, according to Quaker historian Edwin B. Bronner, was thus referred to as "The Westminster Abbey of Pennsylvania Quakerdom."[83] Prior to the rural cemetery movement that began in the early nineteenth century, burials were the almost exclusive domain of the church yard. English Friends as dissenters from the Anglican Church were often denied burial. As a result, early Friends often created a burying ground before building a meeting house. Penn recognized this as a significant need and, even prior to its official transfer from Penn, the land served as the primary burying ground for Friends. The burying ground holds thousands of bodies; some buried two and three deep, and was used by non-Friends as well as by Friends during times of crisis such as the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. Talk of building a meeting house on this site began as early as 1738, but serious consideration did not occur until 1796, at which point the area designated for burial was largely filled.[84] In 1846, the Fair Hill Burying Ground was established in place of the Arch Street site to provide a large central location for Friends' burials, although each meeting house site also includes a designated burying ground. As is Quaker tradition, graves were left unmarked, although records indicating who was buried and where are held in the archives of the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia, now housed in the Quaker Collection at Haverford College. Thus the bodies of many of the earliest Quaker settlers still lie on the property.

Liberty of Conscience and Social Reform

American statesman, president, and framer of the Declaration of Independence Thomas Jefferson called Pennsylvania "the cradle of toleration and freedom of religion," and its founder William Penn "the greatest law giver the world has produced." Jefferson's comments refer to the democratic ideals–Liberty of Conscience and

[80] Records of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and its individual meetings, as well as the New York and other yearly meetings are held at publically accessible repositories in the Philadelphia area such as the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College and the Quaker Collection at Haverford College. The Friends Center in Center City Philadelphia houses the administrative offices of PYM, the Quaker Information Center with its wealth of information on Quaker activities of all types, and the national headquarters of the American Friends Service Committee. The Atwater Kent Museum preserves extensive holdings of Quaker artifacts in its collections recording the city's history.

[81] Williams, 14.

[82] Most Quaker meeting houses included cemeteries, but this was established by Penn himself, specifically as a burying ground. A similar situation was later created in Philadelphia at Fair Hill, where land given to George Fox by Penn (in 1703) was later used to create a Quaker burying ground in 1843. This was also among the burying grounds used during Philadelphia's infamous yellow fever epidemic of 1793. The Arch Street burying ground ceased to be used for internments once the Meeting House was built, except in special cases.

[83] Edwin B. Bronner," Quaker Landmarks in Early Philadelphia," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 43, no. 1 (1953): 214.

[84] Ibid.

religious toleration–outlined in Penn's 1682 *Frame of Government* and his subsequent 1701 *Charter of Privileges* for his newly formed Pennsylvania colony.[85] As Proprietor of colonial Pennsylvania, William Penn created the 1701 *Charter of Privileges* guaranteeing these rights to all settlers. Penn referred to the establishment of his colony as a "Holy Experiment," which he intended as a study in both religious toleration and in enlightened government.[86] Penn's policies regarding civil governance were as much an outgrowth of the enlightened political philosophy shared by contemporaries such as John Locke and Algernon Sidney as they were the tenets or "testimonies" that are the basis of the religious beliefs and practices espoused by the Society of Friends. Penn's *Frame of Government*, the precursor to the *Charter of Privileges,* was the product of deliberation by over 100 Friends, including some of the most influential of the times such as George Whitehead, James Claypoole, Christopher Taylor, and even founder George Fox.[87] Penn's Charter was thus a product of Friends' world view, shaped by their testimonies and beliefs, and by an understanding of the injustice that results when individuals are denied what we now consider basic civil liberties. It was the manifestation of the Quaker principles of equality, tolerance, and charity applied to a civil contract.[88] Quaker beliefs are based on the supposition that "there is that of God in everyone," a presence that is referred to as the Inward Light.[89] Because God reveals his will through the Inward Light, to ignore one's Light is to defy conscience and to sin against God. Likewise, coercion is a corruption not only of faith but of the laws of the Inward Light and of "right reason."[90] Liberty of conscience is therefore a fundamental right, and its pursuit (for oneself and for others) the basis for Quaker action.

Thus, the same ideas about Liberty of Conscience that compelled Friends to provide for religious and personal freedoms as colonial proprietors were also manifested in their extraordinary efforts on behalf of social justice and human equality. According to Quaker historian Margaret Hope Bacon, "Concepts of religious liberty and racial and gender equality, of conscientious objection, conflict resolution, and non-violence, brought by the Quaker to the colonies, are woven into the fabric of national law and custom."[91] Providing aid to those in need and acting against injustice was not just a social obligation but a moral imperative. Thus, as Friends' political

[85] Jefferson's remarks have led scholars to believe that he drew a substantial amount of inspiration from Penn's charter and its practical application by Friends in the Pennsylvania colony when drafting the religious clauses of the landmark *First Amendment of the Bill of Rights* and the *Virginia Bill for Religious Liberty*. See Arlin M. Adams, "William Penn and the American Heritage of Religious Liberty," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 137:4 (1993): 516. In fact, Jefferson considered the Virginia bill, established prior to the *First Amendment to the Bill of Rights*, which would once-and-for-all provide the legal framework for federally-sanctioned religious freedom, to be among his greatest achievements. Written nearly a century before either of these documents, Penn's charter was among the first and most enduring attempts to create a government founded on Liberty of Conscience that the world has ever known.

[86] According to Penn, "I have obtained [Pennsylvania] that an example be set up to the nations." Adams, 520.

[87] William Penn to Jasper Batt, Feb. 5, 1683, Papers of William Penn, II, 348; as cited in Frost, 13. For a complete discussion of the drafts of the Frames, see II, 135-238. George Whitehead, considered one of the founders of Quakerism, was a member of the Valiant Sixty, travelling ministers who helped establish the religion and fight persecution. His lobbying in defense of the right to practice the Quaker religion was influential in establishing The Act of Uniformity, The Bill of Rights of 1689, and the Royal Declaration of Indulgence. James Claypoole was the treasurer of the Free Society of Traders, formed to assist in the settlement of Pennsylvania. He immigrated there in 1683, where he held important offices, and bore witness to the signing of Penn's Charter. Christopher Taylor, also a member of the Valiant Sixty, was an Oxford-trained educator and the author of important works on Quakerism. He followed Penn to Pennsylvania and was a representative in the first assembly of the province.

[88] Penn regarded the Liberty of Conscience outlined in the first article of his Charter of Privileges so fundamental that it was to "remaine [*sic*] without any Alteration Inviolably for ever."

[89] Margaret Hope Bacon, *The Quiet Rebels, The Story of Quakers in America* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1999), 3.

[90] As suggested by Arlin Adams, "The Frame of Government [established by Penn] embodied the view that divine natural law formed the source for governmental authority. This immutable law, known through 'right reason' and the 'inner light,' provided the basis for the social contract and for moral living in accordance with Biblical principles...According to Penn, the social contract consisted of three guarantees: the right to representative institutions; the right to property, defined to include estate, life, and liberty; and the right to procedural due process." Adams, "William Penn and the American Heritage of Religious Liberty," 521.

[91] Bacon, 3.

control waned during the late eighteenth century, they focused their influence and energy towards their benevolent activities. The reforms and charitable acts that Friends engaged in were guided by their tenets and given sanction by the PYM through their Queries and Advices, or recommendations regarding proper conduct and activity.

Friends of the PYM have been leaders in some of the most significant social movements affecting the nation including public health and prison reform, abolition, civil rights and the rights of Native Americans, freedmen, women, and other oppressed people, public and private education (included that of freedmen), and the peace movement. As advocates for the humane treatment of the poor, sick, imprisoned, and mentally ill, the Friends of the PYM were responsible for the founding of path-breaking institutions such as the Friends Hospital for the Insane and Eastern State Penitentiary. Friends established abolitionist societies (including the very first in America, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society), and the first legal protections for fugitive slaves, making Philadelphia the center of the early abolitionist movement and home to countless freedmen. In more recent times, the Friends of the PYM were responsible for the creation of the American Friends Service Committee. Founded in 1917 to provide peace advocates and conscientious objectors with an opportunity to aid civilian war victims, the work of the American Friends Service Committee has expanded to include service, development, social justice, environmental and peace programs throughout the globe. Friends worldwide received recognition when the AFSC was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947.

Mental Health Reform

Philadelphia Quakers have been on the forefront of the humane treatment of the mentally ill. They were instrumental in creating the nation's first general hospital, the Pennsylvania Hospital begun in 1755 (NHL, 1965), and the Friends Hospital in 1817 (NHL, 1999), the nation's first hospital for the insane. Dating back to the time of George Fox, Quakers have concerned themselves with the treatment of the mentally disturbed. They sought to establish facilities for their care, and not just their confinement, and to eliminate the violent practices for controlling behavior that were characteristic of mental health facilities of that era. Members of the PYM first took steps in 1709 to organize a hospital that would care for both the physically and mentally ill.[92] After several revisions of its plan, the Pennsylvania Hospital founded in 1751, under the direction of Quaker physician Thomas Bond. It was the first hospital in the colonies and became the prototype for the development of the hospital in America. While Friends intended that the services provided by the Pennsylvania Hospital include humane treatment for mental illness, confinement became standard. Moreover, without alternative treatments, the use of severe physical punishment persisted. Finally with urging from Quaker minister Thomas Scattergood, the PYM formed a committee in 1812 to investigate the possibilities for the establishment of an asylum where sufferers could seek both safe refuge and treatment for their illnesses. The committee presented its report at the Yearly Meeting's annual session the following year and Friends were given the authorization to proceed. The Friends Asylum, later named Friends Hospital, opened in April 1817.

The building was erected based on a plan developed by William Tuke for the York Retreat in England, and modified by Thomas Scattergood to provide better accommodations for light and ventilation. The innovative plan included a main block that housed the patient day room and administrative functions of the hospital (namely the superintendent's quarters and medical facilities), with flanking wings housing patient rooms segregated by gender. These rooms were located to the front of the building with a windowed corridor to the rear to allow for the infiltration of natural light and ventilation deemed vital to good health. The landscape was also an important part of the overall plan; the extensive grounds allowed for privacy while creating a secluded, naturalistic environment considered conducive to reform. The property also contained a working farm that supplied healthy food as well as therapeutic activity for those patients well enough to assist in its operation. As the first American institution of its kind, it became a national prototype. The plan was later referred to as the

[92] Brinton, 153-54.

Kirkbride Plan after Thomas Kirkbride who was one of the Friends Hospital's early and most influential Resident Physicians. Kirkbride went on to plan and operate numerous other mental hospitals based on this plan. According to historian Nancy Webster, "Even more important than the physical layout was the new treatment which Friends introduced—the 'moral treatment' of mental illness, a methodology which combined the Quaker religious views of the individual with medical sciences' developing therapies. By the 1850s, the Quaker approach to mental health had become the example for America." As with all areas of human encounter, Friends belief in the concept that there is "that of God" in even those afflicted with mental illness dictated that patients be treated with respect, love, and equality. Thus "moral treatment" utilized the healing benefits of such care to strengthen the mental health, if not actually curing mental illness.[93] Friends Hospital was declared a National Historic Landmark in 1999 for its crucial role in developing humane treatments and conditions for the mentally ill.

Prison Reform

Quakers also saw "that of God" within prison inmates and this belief fostered their prison reform efforts. In keeping with Friends' testimonies, they believed that what has been termed "Friendly Persuasion" was a more effective means of reforming criminals than physical coercion. The object of punishment was reformation, and thus the individual must be given every opportunity to make amends for his misdeed.[94] To assist in the reform of these individuals, Friends encouraged silent reflection as a means of seeking the enlightenment conducive to such transformation. Arguments hold that, "It was indeed the Quakers of Pennsylvania who became the leaders of prison reform. They brought with them to their new home a mixed heritage of experience and ideals. In England they had been persecuted for their heterodoxy...Their charitable religion made them humane toward their erring and suffering fellowmen...and opened their eyes to the evils of their own congregate jails, particularly the Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia."[95] At Walnut Street, prisoners of all ages and offenses were thrown together in a "congregate system" that was not conducive to reform. The Friends' "Pennsylvania System" sought complete isolation during which time the criminal could reflect upon his sins and seek forgiveness, while those with minor offenses were removed from contact with more dangerous inmates. In 1787 the largely Quaker Philadelphia Society for Alleviating Miseries of Public Prisoners determined that the new Walnut Street Jail would separate prisoners into individual cells and provide manual tasks that would help develop good work habits. Throughout the early nineteenth century, Quakers like Charles Brockden Brown lobbied the Pennsylvania legislature to build a penitentiary based on the idea of personal reform through solitude and reflection. In 1830, their efforts were rewarded with the construction of Eastern State Penitentiary, which introduced concepts of humane treatment, including solitary confinement as an inducement to penitence. As stated in the National Historic Landmark nomination for the site, this system "was grounded in the Quaker concept of reflection in solitude as well as an abhorrence of the 18th century practice in Philadelphia of sentencing all offenders to public hard labor."[96] While the isolation was later determined to be inhumane, the separation of prisoners by offense, the introduction of productive labor, and the relative confinement of individuals marked significant reforms.[97] Despite its deficiencies, Eastern State Penitentiary became a global model for prison reform, and was thus designated as a National Historic Landmark in 1974.

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[93] Nancy Webster, National Historic Landmark Nomination for "Friends Hospital," National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, prepared 1998, 16-18.

[94] Thomas L. Dumm, "Friendly Persuasion: Quakers, Liberal Toleration, and the Birth of the Prison," *Political Theory* 13 (August 1985): 388.

[95] Thorsten Sellin, "The Historical Background of Our Prisons," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 157 (September 1931): 3-4.

[96] S. Sydney Bradford and Richard E. Greenwood, National Historic Landmark Nomination for "Eastern State Penitentiary," National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, prepared 1974, 3.

[97] The principles of the Pennsylvania System were modified to employ solitary confinement for only limited periods and to work together, albeit in silence, that came to be known as the Auburn System, which remained in use well into the twentieth century. See Sellin, 4.

Abolition

There is no doubt that Philadelphia became a stronghold of the abolitionist movement in America due to the prolonged and valiant efforts of the Friends of the PYM.[98] They were responsible for the establishment of the nation's first prohibitions against slavery and legal protections for fugitive slaves, the earliest and most enduring abolitionist societies, and the viability of the Underground Railroad's northeast corridor. These efforts, coupled with the establishment of the nation's first schools for African Americans, were also responsible for the creation in Philadelphia of a thriving free black community, the largest in the north. As the first religious denomination to take a strong stance against slavery, the conscience raising and political activism of the PYM Friends provided a model for grassroots action; numerous aid societies were established in Philadelphia, including those administered by the freedmen themselves. Friends continued to provide for the education and welfare of freedmen at the conclusion of the Civil War in Philadelphia and throughout southern states. Although there remained a "divided spirit" within the PYM about how best to deal with the issues of slavery, individual members were free to pursue any and all avenues. As historian Jean B. Soderlund explains, "Under their influence, the white abolitionist movement continued forward into American history the gradualist, segregationist, and paternalistic policies developed for almost a century within the Society of Friends."[99] Thus Philadelphia Friends participated in a multitude of abolitionist activities both in response to directives from the PYM and to their own conscience, or Inward Light.

Friends' advocacy began in 1696 with the issuance of the "Protest against Slavery," the first official statement in the colonies against the importation of slaves. Although ultimately unsuccessful in eliminating slave trafficking in Pennsylvania, it became a touchstone for the anti-slavery movement, and served as the introduction of a long dialogue among Friends and others. In 1743, the PYM prohibited the purchase of slaves in an attempt to eliminate the perpetuation of slaveholding among Quakers. In 1754, the PYM published member John Woolman's *Some Considerations of the Keeping of Negroes* and distributed it to Quakers throughout the colonies and in England. According to historian Thomas E. Drake, "No other anti-slavery document had hitherto received such extensive circulation in any language anywhere."[100] Friends' response to the article contributed to the PYM's decision in 1758 to disallow those who still held slaves, or who were otherwise involved in the slave trade, active participation in meeting affairs. Finally in 1774 the PYM took a stronger stance by outright disowning slaveholders from the Society. The voluntary manumissions of enslaved persons by Friends responding to the PYM prohibitions formed the basis for the growth of a significant free black population in Philadelphia that was bolstered by the establishment by Friends of schools for blacks of all ages, free or slave.

Philadelphia Friends began providing formal instruction to African Americans in 1770 with the founding of The School for Black People and their Descendants. Quaker educator and abolitionist Anthony Benezet started the school informally in 1750 by teaching African Americans in his home in the evenings. The school offered basic

[98] George Fox instructed the Quaker colonists, "Let your Light shine among the Indians, the Blacks, and the Whites that ye may answer the truth in them" (Brinton, 146). The word "truth" refers to Quaker doctrine and was also used in the early days to refer to one's Inward Light. More specifically, this is a reference to Inner Light that is within all men, and may be appealed to in order to bring all consciences into agreement (Brinton, 122).

[99] Jean B. Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 187. During this period, many Friends, particularly Orthodox members, preferred to remain separate from mainstream society, which precluded them from involvement with outside organizations in causes including abolition.

[100] Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 23-24, as cited in Ira V. Brown, "Pennsylvania's Antislavery Pioneers, 1688-1776," *Pennsylvania History* 55 (Apr. 1988): 59-77. PYM Quakers Benjamin Lay and Anthony Benezet similarly wrote pioneering works of antislavery literature. In 1737, Lay published *All Slave Keepers That Keep the Innocent in Bondage*. Benezet wrote several influential tracts including *Observations on the Enslaving, Importing, and Purchasing of Negroes* (1759) and *Some Historical Account of Guinea* (1771).

education to blacks.[101] In 1789, Friends also founded the Association of Friends for the Free Instruction of Adult Colored Persons, which operated until 1904.[102] At the height of its operation in the post Civil War era, the school provided instruction to about 500 persons, three-fifths of whom were women. Most significantly, Friends of Orthodox PYM created in 1837 what is now recognized as the oldest African American school of higher education in America, the Institute for Colored Youth. The school, incorporated by the State legislature in 1842, was established through a legacy from Quaker Richard Humphreys, and is now known as Cheyney University. When it began, it was the only private school in the city that offered secondary education for African Americans. During the post-Civil War era enrollment increased to nearly 200; the university currently has an enrollment of about 1,300 students.

In 1775, under the direction of Anthony Benezet, Friends and other concerned Philadelphians established the world's first abolitionist organization, The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage.[103] Commonly known as Pennsylvania Abolition Society (PAS), it was incorporated in 1787 and included such high profile members as Benjamin Franklin and the prominent physician Benjamin Rush. According to Avi Dector, "The principal vehicles for antislavery activism after the American Revolution were local anti-slavery societies, of which the model and exemplar was the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, founded in 1775 and based in Philadelphia."[104] The goal of PAS was not just to assist run-away slaves, but also to advocate for an end to slavery and to promote education and employment among freemen. PAS thus worked through the legal system to institute laws protecting fugitive slaves. It also conducted the most important legal aid system for African Americans at that time anywhere, providing assistance to hundreds of individuals, and thus further protecting the state's growing free black community.[105] As a result of lobbying efforts by PAS and PYM, in 1780 Pennsylvania became the first state to adopt an emancipation law; known as the Gradual Emancipation Act, it allowed the children born of slaves to be freed at age twenty-eight. In 1788, a law was passed that mandated fines and prison terms to deter those involved in the lucrative kidnapping of fugitive slaves (this was strengthened by later laws passed in 1820, 1826, and 1847). PYM appeals to legislatures also were a factor in the abolition of the U.S. slave trade in 1807. As a result of efforts such as these, slavery as an institution in Pennsylvania was dying by 1790 and virtually extinct by 1830.[106] By 1860, Philadelphia had the

[101] Barbour and Frost, 146, 292-3. W.E.B. Dubois would comment, "Anthony Benezet and the Friends of Philadelphia have the honor of recognizing the fact that the welfare of the state demands the education of Negro children," in *The Philadelphia Negro* (New York: Lippincott, 1899), 83. This school operated until 1819, when a public school system was started in Philadelphia.

[102] It also spawned the Society of the Free Instruction of the Black People, the Society for the Free Instruction of African Females and the Association of Friends for the Free Instruction of Colored Women. Under the leadership of Anthony Benezet (1713-1784), Friends supported the notion of education for all, including women. The association provided free adult education to African-Americans until 1904 when it was dissolved and its assets were transferred to the Institute for Colored Youth.

[103] The original group consisted of ten white Philadelphians, seven of whom were Quaker. Within the first year, the group grew to twenty-four, seventeen of whom were Quakers, and within two years there were eight-two members. "Africans in America, Part 3: Founding of Pennsylvania Abolition Society," PBS Online, accessed 29 Oct. 2009, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part3/3p249.html. Early Quakers members from Chester County include Richard Barnard, Jr., Edward Bonsall, William Gibbons, Enoch Lewis, Emmor Kember, John Meredith, Samuel Painter, Jr., and Thomas Vickers.

[104] Avi Dector, National Historic Landmark Nomination for the "Johnson House," National Park Service, U.S. Department of Interior, prepared 1997, 12.

[105] Richard Newman, "The Pennsylvania Abolition Society: Restoring a Group to Glory," *Pennsylvania LEGACIES* (Nov. 2005): 8.

[106] Christopher Densmore for The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, "Seeking Freedom in the Courts: The Work of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and for the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage, and for improving the Condition of the African Race, 1775-1865," accessed online, 29 Oct. 2009, http://www.hsp.org/default.sspx?id=817. The Gradual Abolition Act of 1780 allowed masters from other states to bring slaves into the state for temporary residence of no more than six months. Any longer and the slave was legally entitled to freedom, and in a number of cases such African Americans achieved liberty with the aid of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (PAS). In 1847, Pennsylvania removed the provision allowing even temporary residence. In 1855, the PAS, in cooperation with the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, the Vigilance Committee, and others, succeeded in freeing Jane Johnson and two of her children who were traveling through Philadelphia with their master. By the time of the first U.S. Census in 1790, almost two-thirds of Pennsylvania's black population was free. By 1800, only one in ten African

largest free-black population of any area outside the slave-holding south.[107] The help of Philadelphia Friends ensured the substantial growth of a free black community and lead to the formation of societies that African Americans created for their own aid and protection, beginning with the Independent Free African Society in 1787 and culminating with the highly successful Vigilance Committee in 1835.[108] A group of Quaker merchants also formed a "Free Produce Society" that declined to sell goods produced by slave labor.[109] According to historian David Fischer, "Quakers provided an ethical and cultural environment which strongly supported industrial and capitalist development."[110]

Beginning in the 1830s, Friends of the PYM became active in many other abolitionists organizations established after PAS. Among these was the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS); this emerged out of a three-day national convention of abolitionists from nine states, including Pennsylvania, held in Philadelphia in 1833. A full one-third of the delegates to the convention were Quaker. Equally significant, particularly in terms of the involvement of Friends of the PYM, was the formation immediately after of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society (PFASS). Created under the leadership of Quaker Lucretia Mott to rally to the cause women who were denied membership in existing abolitionist societies, the PFASS was among the most successful and long-lived woman's abolitionist societies in the country.[111] The idea came to Mott after she and three other Quaker women, Lydia White, Esther Moore, and Sidney Ann Lewis, attended the AASS meeting as observers. White was the wife of a prominent physician, and Moore and Lewis both operated "free labor" dry goods and produce stores, where merchandise was guaranteed to be produced without slave labor. Although PFASS was dominated by Quakers from both the Hicksite and Orthodox meetings, it took in women from diverse backgrounds, including free blacks, which was unusual at that time.[112] Members included the wives and daughters of the city's best-known African-American abolitionists, such as Harriet Purvis, Charlotte and Margaretta Forten, and Sarah McCrummel.[113] Other prominent female abolitionists to join PFASS were Quakers Angelina and Sarah Grimke, Sarah Pugh, and Sarah Douglass (who was also African-American). According to their constitution, slavery was contrary to the laws of God, and to the principles outlined in the Declaration of Independence.

Americans in Pennsylvania was enslaved; in Philadelphia, the figure was closer to one in one-hundred.

[107] In 1860, Philadelphia's free blacks exceeded 22,000, the largest outside the slave-holding south. Theodore Hershberger, "Free Black in Antebellum Philadelphia: A Study of Ex-slaves, Freeborn and Socioeconomic Decline," *Journal of Social History* 5 (Winter 1971-72): 183.

[108] The former was created by black ministers Absalom Hones and Richard Allen. The latter, begun by black abolitionist Robert Purvis, was reconstituted as the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee in 1852. Although for the most part a black organization, the Acting Committee included well-known Quaker abolitionist Passmore Williamson.

[109] See Norman B. Wilkinson, "The Philadelphia Free Produce Attack on Slavery," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 66 (July 1942): 294-313. Under the leadership of Woolman and Benezet, by 1790 Philadelphia Quakers began the free produce. The idea gained momentum and in 1827 the Free Produce Society was founded by Thomas M'Clintock and other concerned Philadelphia Friends. Thomas M'Clintock and his wife Mary Ann later relocated to Waterloo, New York, where their house became a station on the Underground Railroad (see "Network to Freedom" listing, http://home.nps.gov/ugrr/TEMPLATE/FrontEnd/index.cfm). Mary Ann was among the female Friends that took part in the first Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls in 1848.

[110] David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways In America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 558.

[111] Ira V. Brown, "Cradle of Feminism: The Philadelphia Female Anti-slavery Society, 1833-1840," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 102 (April 1978): 143.

[112] Orthodox Quaker Sarah Pugh was president of the society from 1838 to 1866.

[113] In the 1830s, Robert Purvis became the first black member of PAS and served as its president 1845-50, and his home was a stop on the Underground Railroad. All three men were principal organizers of the Philadelphia chapter of the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Vigilant Committee of Philadelphia. James Forten, Philadelphia's wealthiest black citizen, used his fortune to support the abolitionist cause, including underpinning the publication of the *Liberator* and the funding of legal aid to fugitive slaves. James McCrummel was an African-American minister and dentist. He presided over the first meeting of the PFASS that the women's request, since they had never undertaken such a meeting.

The PFASS helped to create awareness about the plight of slaves by collecting and disseminating "correct" information about their lives and sponsoring lectures on such topics, soliciting signatures on petitions for anti-slavery legislation,[114] and raising funds to aid the cause. The latter activity was conducted largely through the sale of items such as needlepoint, pottery, art and other handmade articles, and baked goods. The PFASS held a well-known annual fair shortly before Christmas each year from 1836 through 1861 where their goods were sold. The proceeds provided funding for the publication of the abolitionist newspaper, *Pennsylvania Freeman* from 1838 to 1854, and contributed to the work of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.[115] As one of the most active and influential women's groups of the period, the PFASS also provided its members with vital political and organizational skills that they later applied to their own cause. According to Melissa Mandell, "The PFASS was the vanguard of female grassroots organizing, serving as a model for scores of other female abolition groups and catalyzing the nascent women's right movement."[116] In fact, Lucretia Mott first met Elizabeth Cady Stanton at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in England where they vowed to work for women's rights as well as the rights of slaves. Stanton would later claim that the movement for woman's suffrage (launched at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848) dated from this meeting.[117]

Friends of the PYM also participated significantly in the Underground Railroad. According to historians Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, "Friends made the Philadelphia-Baltimore area, Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and the area northwest of Cincinnati the three main channels for blacks escaping illegally from southern slavery by 'the Underground Railroad.' "[118] Philadelphia was the hub of the eastern passage, where various routes from the south and southeast converged, and the point from which fugitive slaves headed north to New York and New England. The success of the Underground Railroad in Philadelphia can be attributed to the early formation of antislavery societies, including PAS and the African-American operated Vigilance Committee. It is estimated that by 1860, almost 9,000 runaways had entered and departed from Philadelphia. In the *Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania*, William Switala discusses the valuable contributions of the Friends of the PYM to the movement, specifically the school they operated for blacks that helped to sustain their community, and railroad stops such as those operated by Germantown Friends; Abraham L. Pennock, John Button, Samuel Rhodes, and Rowland and Israel Johnson all offered their homes for use as safe-houses for fugitive slaves.[119] The Johnson House, where three generations of the Johnson family provided shelter to fugitive slaves, is currently the Underground Railroad Museum, National Historic Site. The long list of abolitionists' organizations in which the Johnsons participated speaks to the zeal with which many Friends sough to aid the fugitive slaves.[120] According to Switala, outside of Philadelphia (but still within the PYM), "The large Quaker

[114] In 1837, they solicited 43,441 males' signatures and 63,178 females' signatures of antislavery petitions that they presented to Congress. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, "Our Sphere of Influence: Women Activists and the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society," Exploring Diversity in Pennsylvania, accessed online, 29 Oct. 2009, www.hsp.org.

[115] Art items included anti-slavery drawings and mottos including the popular image of a female slave in chains with the caption, "Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?" Also offered at the fairs was a book of poetry edited by John Greenleaf Whittier entitled *The North Star*.

[116] Melissa Mandell for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, "Window on the Collections: The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society Papers," *Pennsylvania Legacies*, accessed online, 29 Oct. 2009, http://www.hsp.org/default.aspx?id=821.

[117] Brown, 142-166; Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, eds., *The Abolitionist Sisterhood*: *Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994).

[118] Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1988), 196.

[119] William J. Switala, *Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2001), 141-68.

[120] According to the National Historic Landmark nomination for Johnson House, the range of the Johnson family's antislavery involvement is extraordinary. Rowland Johnson served as an officer of the Junior Anti-Slavery Society, was a member of the Association of Friends Committee on Requited Labor, secretary of the Upper Delaware Ward Anti-Slavery Society, a member of the Vigilance Committee of Philadelphia (who protected freedmen's rights and resisted slave-catchers), a founder of the Longwood Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends (who were militantly abolitionist and whose participants included Oliver Johnson, Sojourner Truth, and Bartholomew Fussell among many others), and a Vice-President of the American Anti-Slavery Society (whose other officers included William Lloyd Garrison, Samuel May, Lucretia Mott, Robert Purvis, Thomas Garrett, and Wendell Phillips among other renowned abolitionists)," 16.

population of Adams, York, Lancaster, Chester and Delaware counties accounted for the majority of Underground Railroad agents and conductors there. Names like Daniel Gibbons, Elijah Pennypacker, Nathan Evans, and Grace Anna Lewis, all of whom were Quakers, were legendary in the operation of the Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania." Likewise, Quakers in Bucks and Montgomery counties were "largely instrumental" in the passage of runaway slaves traveling through the northeast corridor.[121] In addition, of the 132 known "agents" for the Underground Railroad in Chester County, at least eighty-two were Quaker.[122]

Freedman's Activities

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the Friends of the PYM formed organizations crucial to the aid of the freedmen. The Women's Aid Society of the PYM, which was linked to the National Freedman's Relief Society, had already begun to provide aid in the spring of 1862, sending supplies of medicines, books and other school supplies, clothing, and other necessities to the South. On January 6, 1864, a large gathering of Friends was held at the Arch Street Meeting House and the Friends' Freedmen Association (FFA) was formed to provide relief and education to freed slaves.[123] Organizers immediately raised $53,800 to purchase agricultural equipment and seeds, hospital supplies, slates and school books, and clothing which were distributed in "contraband" camps scattered in areas of Virginia and North Carolina. They also purchased land and granted mortgages to freedmen and established stores to shield them from unscrupulous merchants.[124] They taught former slaves to read and write—an activity that was illegal in southern states until after the end of the Civil War. With so many slaves set free without the skills and resources needed to make a living, the Quakers turned their attention to education. This included both primary education as well as agricultural and industrial training. Friends opened elementary schools as fast as they could be staffed. Orthodox Friends maintained forty-six schools providing education for up to 6,000 black students in southern Virginia and North Carolina.[125] Orthodox members of the PYM alone contributed over a quarter of a million dollars into relief and educational instruction between 1863 and 1871. According to Philip Benjamin, "When compared to the efforts of other denominations, these expenditures reveal a significant concern."[126] In and around Philadelphia, Quaker women formed nearly 100 sewing circles that produced approximately 22,500 garments for distribution to the freedmen.[127] The Hicksite Friends created a similar aid society known as the Association for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen, in January 1864. They focused their aid on the Washington, D.C. area where large numbers of freedmen had migrated, maintaining a contraband camp on Roosevelt Island that contained as many as 1,200 freed slaves. In addition, Hicksites supported ten schools in Washington, northern Virginia and the South Carolina coast, with a total student enrollment of 632. As late as 1880, Orthodox Friends still maintained eighteen schools at a cost of about $10,000 per year each. Many of the teachers who taught freedmen in these schools were graduates of the Philadelphia Quaker's Institute for Colored Youth.[128]

The Peace Movement, Conscientious Objection, and the American Friends Service Committee

As the nineteenth century progressed, Arch Street (Orthodox) and Race Street (Hicksite) Friends increasingly recognized the matters that bound them together as opposed to those that separated them. America's entry into

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[121] Switala, 169. Note that the PYM encompasses all Quaker meetings within Pennsylvania, Delaware, and most of New Jersey.

[122] William C. Kashatus, *Just Over the Line: Chester County and the Underground Railroad* (West Chester, PA: Chester County Historical Society, 2002), 59-60, also Appendix B, 95. They were of every age, occupation, and economic standing. Of the 132, thirty-one were African-American.

[123] Oliver S. Heckman, "Pennsylvania Quakers in Southern Reconstruction," *Pennsylvania History* 13, no. 4 (1946): 253. The organization was founded in 1863 as Friends' Association of Philadelphia and Its Vicinity, for the Relief of Colored Freemen. The name was changed circa 1873.

[124] Benjamin, 130-31.

[125] Heckman, 255.

[126] Ibid., 133.

[127] Ibid., 253.

[128] Margaret Hope Bacon, "The Pennsylvania Abolition Society's Mission for Black Education," *Pennsylvania Legacies* (Nov. 2005): 21-26, accessed online, 29 Oct. 2009, http://www.hsp.org/default.aspx?id=818.

World War I proved to be the catalyst for both reconciliation and the institutionalization of the Quaker ideal of service through the creation in 1917 of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). The AFSC undertook relief and reconstruction projects to aid civilian victims of the war in Europe. It provided, for the first time, an organized alternative to military service for American conscientious objectors (COs), thus allowing Friends to adhere to the peace testimony. The PYM established the AFSC, but involvement quickly spread to other yearly meetings and "peace churches" nationwide. Still headquartered in Philadelphia and operated largely by Friends, the AFSC now includes people from all walks of life and religious backgrounds carrying out service, development, social justice, and peace programs throughout the world.

That Friends have historically been on the forefront of the peace movement is not surprising considering that war is a violation of the most sacrosanct of Friends testimonies, that of peace. So strong were Friends objections to war during the American Revolution that their inability to participate as statesmen resulted in the renunciation of Friends long-standing political control. The rights of individual Friends as conscientious objectors, however, did not become a serious issue until the military draft of World War I.[129] Americans' support for World War I was so fierce that the Federal Council of Churches, generally opposed to involvement in war-related activities, gave its approval to the conflict in Europe, refusing to intervene on behalf of COs. Historian Philip S. Benjamin points out that, "Save for the Mennonites and some groups on the American Left, Friends stood alone in their objections to the war policy." Most yearly meetings, at least initially, left the decision to serve in the military to individual conscience. Among American Friends, the Orthodox Friends of Philadelphia took the strongest stance against the war and thus, notes Benjamin, "the Arch Street Yearly Meeting provided a pacifist light undimmed by compromise."[130] Legally members of so-called pacifist or "peace churches" were exempt from the draft, but individual state draft boards interpreted the law differently, forcing many COs to report for military service or serve jail time. Some were furloughed to serve as farm laborers, but otherwise there were no government sponsored programs for noncombatants. It was not until World War II that the U.S. government established the Civilian Public Service where COs labored in a work camp environment in areas such as soil conservation, forestry, fire fighting, and agriculture. During World War I, however, the Friends provided the only organized alternative to military service through the AFSC.

The roots of the AFSC date to the spring of 1917. The yearly meeting sessions at Arch Street Meeting House in late March of that year coincided with the eve of Woodrow Wilson's decision to enter into World War I. At the yearly meeting, a letter to the president was composed commending him for his efforts on behalf of peace, and urging Congress "to consider how vital to the interests of humanity will be the coming decision."[131] At the same time, the Representative Committee of the PYM appointed a special committee to watch over the interests of young members who would potentially be required to respond to a military draft. In addition, the Arch Street meeting's Peace Association of Friends began a dialogue with their counterparts on the Hicksite's Peace Committee to determine a course of action. Within a month of the declaration of war, representatives of Philadelphia (Orthodox) Yearly Meeting, the (Hicksite) Friends' General Conference, and the Five Years Meeting met in Philadelphia to plan what became the permanent national organization of Quakers throughout the United States, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). The primary task at hand was to provide constructive work for conscientious objectors, in order "to fulfill religious commitment by humanitarian endeavors."[132] Haverford College Professor Rufus Jones was named chairman.[133]

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[129] During the Civil War, as president, Abraham Lincoln looked favorably on Friends pacifist testimony. As with the Revolutionary War, it was generally possible to pay a commutation fee rather than serve in the military.

[130] Philip S. Benjamin, *The Philadelphia Quakers in the Industrial Age* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), 192-202.

[131] Rufus Jones, *A Service of Love in Wartime: American Friends Relief Work in Europe, 1917-1919* (New York: Macmillan, 1920), 5-6.

[132] J. William Frost, "Our Deeds Carry our Message: The Early History of the American Friends Service Committee," *Quaker History* 81 (Spring 1992): 28.

[133] Also named to the AFSC were Vincent D. Nicholson, as Executive Secretary, Charles F. Jenkins, Treasurer, and Alfred G.

Rufus Jones (1863-1948) is considered the central figure of Quakerism in the period after 1895 for his efforts at reconciliation. This work began with his editorship of *The Friends'* Review (1893-1912) and it continued later and more significantly when he became a spokesman for humanitarian relief, proposing missionary work without proselytizing.[134] As soon as American involvement in the war was announced, Jones, along with Dr. James A. Babbit, began organizing an emergency unit at Haverford composed of students and teachers that could assist with noncombatant war efforts. Teaming up with the American Red Cross and English Friends already in the field, "Unit 1," as they became known, headed to France in early winter. While the majority of participants were young Philadelphia Friends, other religious organizations, mostly Mennonites, also participated. In France, most participants were involved with the reconstruction of towns and villages and the assembly of prefabricated, temporary housing. Other major activities were in the areas of agriculture, transportation, and public health.

Meanwhile, at the AFSC headquarters in Philadelphia, efforts were underway to encourage participation among other yearly meetings across the nation. Key AFSC members undertook speaking tours and meetings, focusing their efforts on the Peace Committees that existed within most meetings. By January 1918, nearly every yearly meeting in the United States had formed a Service Committee that worked directly with the AFSC headquarters in Philadelphia.[135] From there, detailed instructions were sent in an effort to coordinate activities. In addition to the volunteer work abroad (utilizing approximately 600 workers at its peak), about 300 sewing circles were formed in meetings nationwide to produce clothing and knitted apparel. Arch Street Meeting House became the center for the cutting of cloth for the production of clothing.[136] Other meeting activities included collecting used clothing and producing canned goods. Philadelphia became the distribution center for the food and clothing, sending to France an average of fifty food packages and 3,200 garments a week. Philadelphia Friends also embarked on their largest fund-raising campaign ever in support of the relief work.[137]

According to historian J. William Frost, the contributions of western evangelical Friends lagged behind those of the two PYMs because of suspicion about the AFSC's motives under the leadership of the PYM. Unlike the evangelicals, "The AFSC did not convert people to belief in Jesus Christ as a savior. It sought to show Christian love through good works." Those who supported the AFSC "saw Friends as a people made distinct by pacifism, not as just another [religious] denomination."[138] Many others saw it this way as well. In the end, it was just this non-proselytizing, apolitical stance that led to the tremendous success of the AFSC, and to its continued survival. As evidence, during the post-war era, the AFSC became "the instrument of choice" for relief programs including those sponsored by the American Red Cross and President Hoover's American Relief Association (ARA). Friends' ability to remain neutral in a climate of strong anti-German sentiment enabled the AFSC to undertake child-feeding programs in Vienna, Austria, and throughout Germany. In February 1920, the AFSC fed 5,000 children in Hamburg, and by the end of June they were feeding 615,000 children in eight-seven cities throughout Germany. Similarly, the Soviets insisted that the AFSC act as their agent for the relief that they received from the U.S. This request was made because of the Friends' neutral stance on both the religious and political fronts.[139]

Scattergood, Vice Chairman and Chair of the Finance Committee.

[134] Thomas Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 147.

[135] Frost, 32. Only California, Kansas, and North Carolina had no yet formed a service committee, but the latter two meetings were in the process.

[136] Jones, 81.

[137] While the annual budgets of the two PYMs, the Friends General Council, and the Five Years Meeting together amounted to less than $60,000, the AFSC raised $384,328. The bulk of the funds came from Friends of the PYM. Frost, 33.

[138] Frost, 33.

[139] Ibid., 35-39. According to Frost, "Quaker involvement became necessary because Germans in the Ruhr refused to accept food

In the meantime, in Philadelphia in September 1918, the AFSC held a general meeting of its board to consider incorporating the organization, thus giving permanence to their activities. A committee formed to consider future work, but deferred a decision until such time as a meeting of all American Friends could occur. It was not until the fall of 1924 that the AFSC Board met again in Philadelphia with nearly 100 prominent Friends and relief workers to plan the future of the organization. The discussions began with an opening address by Chairman Rufus Jones. As J. William Frost informs us, "all speakers supported the AFSC as the best vehicle American Friends possessed to unify Quakers, end racism, provide relief, offer an opportunity for Christian service, and a witness for peace."[140] Thus it was decided to expand the organization through the establishment of permanent executive and finance committees within four distinct service sectors: Foreign Service, Interracial, Peace, and Home Service.

Between the World Wars, AFSC worked both internationally and domestically to help victims of famine and disease. They worked first in Germany and Russia, as mentioned, and then in Poland and Serbia where they established orphanages and assisted with agricultural reclamation. In the 1930s, the AFSC helped refugees escape Hitler's Germany, fed refugees in occupied France, and provided relief for children on both sides of the Spanish Civil War. Likewise, after World War II, the AFSC aided in reconstruction and provided relief to numerous European countries. In 1947, the AFSC (along with its counterparts in Britain) was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The prize was accepted for the Society of Friends by Henry J. Cadbury, one of the founders of the AFSC, and its Chairman from 1921 to 1934 and from 1944 to 1960.[141] Although founded by Friends to provide conscientious objectors with an opportunity to aid civilian war victims, the AFSC currently works with people of all religions and cultures. According to their mission statement, "The American Friends Service Committee is a practical expression of the faith of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)." Since then, the AFSC has broadened its size and scope while continuing its work for peace and social justice. In 1947, they helped in India to resettle refugees of the partitioning of the country. The AFSC provided aid during the Korean and Viet Nam wars as well. During the 1950s, the AFSC focused increasingly on alleviating the tensions that lead to war, and developing technical assistance and social support to developing nations. Domestically, the AFSC worked towards creating social and economic justice through activities ranging from organizing famine relief to and protecting the rights of migrant workers. Friends continue to labor at home to eliminate social injustice, working with Native, Mexican, and African Americans, migrant workers, prison inmates and the poor. The AFSC also helps to organize community action to improve public education, housing, and working conditions.[142]

For both the Orthodox and Hicksite PYMs, the formation of the AFSC ushered in a new period of activism at home and abroad, adding impetus to the reconciliation between the two groups. Through the AFSC Quakers defended conscientious objectors and civil liberties, and became staunch advocates for the formation of the League of Nations.[143] As Rufus Jones put it, "The call for relief and the opportunity to serve which was now open to Friends [with the creation of the AFSC] made a profound appeal to all the members [of the Society of Friends] everywhere. Divisions were disregarded and separations overlooked."[144] Other developments

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from the French Red Cross or the French and the AFSC was acceptable to both French and Germans," 38. During their decade long campaign in Russia, the AFSC fed children and nursing mothers with food supplied by the ARA and though their own resources. They also provided medical supplies, care, and training programs; ran orphanages and schools, and taught modern methods of farming.

[140] Ibid., 43.

[141] Cadbury was also a professor at Bryn Mawr College, later serving as a trustee and director. During his long career, he also taught at Haverford.

[142] American Friends Service Committee, http://www.afsc.org/ht/d/sp/i/351/pid/351.

[143] Benjamin, 206-7.

[144] Jones, 77.

contributed to the reconciliation: letters of friendship, joint committees and peace meetings, and a general push from young Friends in both bodies.[145] Reunification of the Orthodox and Hicksite Friends of the two PYMs proceeded slowly due to Quaker decision-making processes, but finally took place in 1955 in the West Room at Arch Street Meeting House. Together, Friends' advocacy for peace continued beyond the AFSC. An additional outgrowth of the need to protect the rights of conscientious objectors was the formation within the PYM of the Friends War Problems Committee in 1940. The committee grew to form the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL) by 1943. The FCNL is now the oldest and largest organization of peace lobbyists in the country; it is represented by the PYM and twenty-five other yearly meetings nationwide as well as seven national Friends organizations (such as the AFSC and the FGC) which advocate for peace as well as for social and economic justice, and good government. In the succeeding half-century, members of PYM have continued to gather at the Arch Street Meeting House to carry out the vision set for them by William Penn.

Conclusion

The Arch Street Meeting House is the largest Quaker meeting house in the United States and the only one of its complex functionality; it has been the site of the annual meeting sessions of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting continuously since 1805. In the context of the development of the American Friends meeting house, Arch Street is extremely innovative, while at the same time manifesting long-held Quaker beliefs and traditions. The size and the sophistication of the Arch Street Meeting House reflect its unique status. Erected between 1803 and 1811, the meeting house is the only known extant work of Owen Biddle, an accomplished Quaker master builder/carpenter and author of *The Young Carpenter's Assistant* (1805), one of the earliest books on architecture written in America. Biddle's design for the meeting house is also architecturally significant as an especially elegant embodiment of the Friends' tenet of "plainness" and Plain-style architectural expression. As the home of the PYM of the Religious Society of Friends, the Arch Street Meeting House is associated with Liberty of Conscience, an ideal fundamental to Quaker tenets that, with its emphasis on freedom and equality, had significant influence on such developments as the founding of the United States and as a motivator in the struggle for social justice and for charitable outreach. There are few significant political or social reform movements in which Friends of the PYM have not played a major role including some of the earliest and most ardent defenses of abolition and the betterment of freedmen, innovative prison reform, and women's rights. The PYM established the American Friends Service Committee, which undertook relief and reconstruction projects to aid civilian victims of the war in Europe and provided, for the first time, an organized alternative to military service for American conscientious objectors. The committee was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947. In its embodiment of the Quaker testimonies of simplicity, equality, and human diversity, Owen Biddle's building remains a unique and vital contribution to the architectural, and social and cultural history of the United States and is eligible for NHL consideration under Criteria 1 and 4.

[145] See Herbert M. Hadley, "Diminishing Separation: Philadelphia Yearly Meetings Reunite, 1915-1955," in *Friends in the Delaware Valley: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1681-1981*, ed. John M. Moore (Haverford, PA: Friends Historical Association, 1981), 138-172.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
X Previously Listed in the National Register: NR # 71000716; listed 05/27/1971
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register:
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark:
X Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No. PA-1388
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record:

Primary Location of Additional Data:

__ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
__ Federal Agency
__ Local Government
__ University
X Other (Specify Repository): Arch Street Meeting House, Philadelphia, PA; Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, PA; Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 2.21

UTM References:	**Zone**	**Easting**	**Northing**
	18	487420	4422230

Verbal Boundary Description: The Arch Street Meeting House property boundaries are demarcated by brick walls. The northern border runs 322'-7" along Arch Street, beginning at the corner of Fourth Street, which forms the western border, extending 355'-4". The eastern border, beginning at Arch Street, extends southward 181'-10" to an alley, jogs westward about 120′, turning 90 degrees to continue southward another 153'-6" (see attached plat). The boundaries include the meeting house and surrounding landscape, including a large parking lot to the rear, located over the original burying ground.

Boundary Justification: The boundaries follow the brick walls that were erected ca. 1801 to enclose the property just prior to the construction of the meeting house, and replace the original walls that marked the property William Penn gave to the Friends.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

Name/Title: Catherine C. Lavoie, Historian, with:
The National Historic Landmark Working Group of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting:
R. Thomas Unkefer, clerk; Greg Barnes, recording clerk; Penelope Batcheler, Nancy Gibbs, Carol Spawn, Willman Spawn, Jane Unkefer, and Jay Worrall

Address: Historic American Buildings Survey
National Park Service
1849 C Street NW (2270)
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Telephone: (202) 354-2185

Date: October 1, 2009

Edited by: James A. Jacobs, Historian
National Park Service
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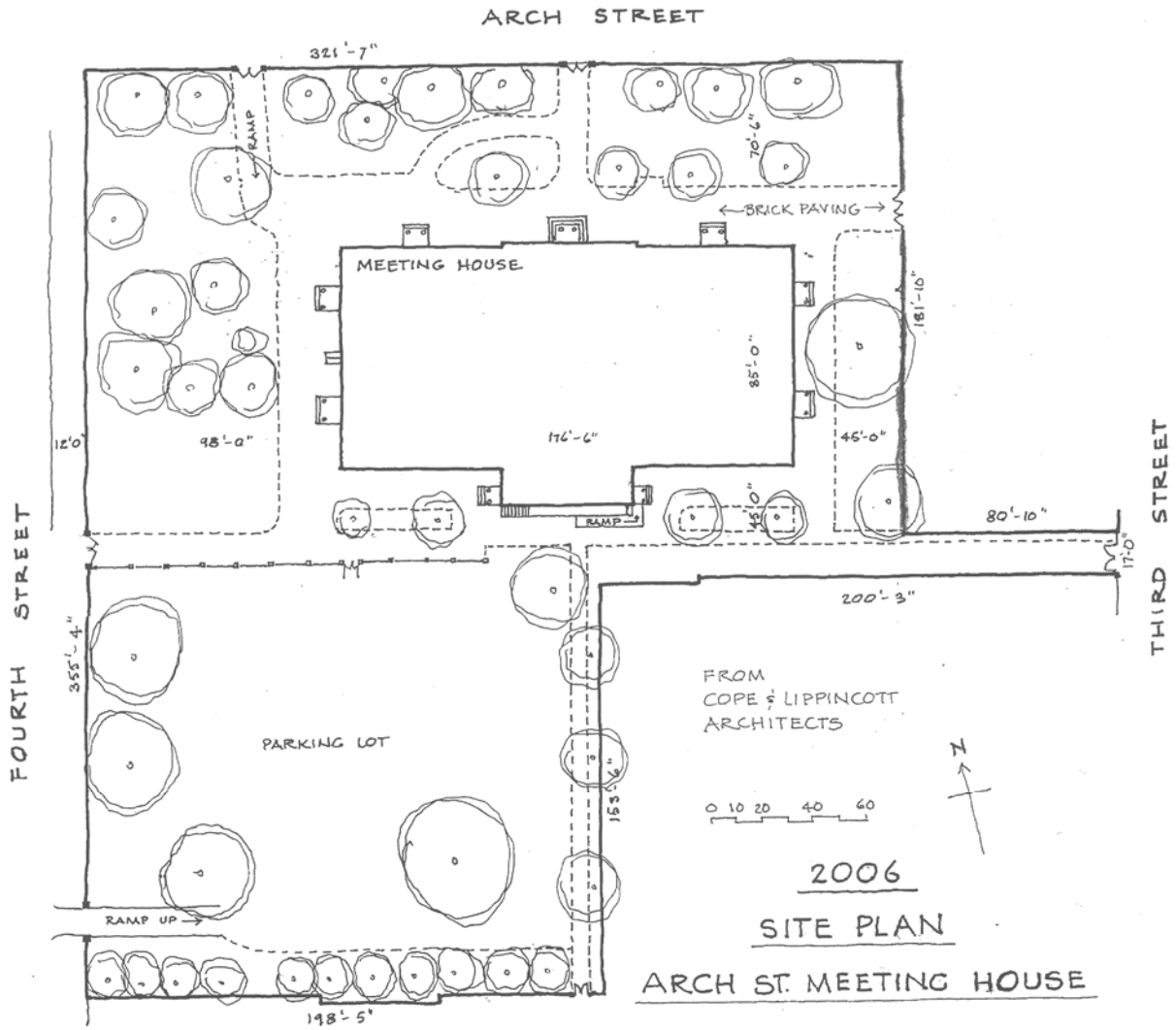
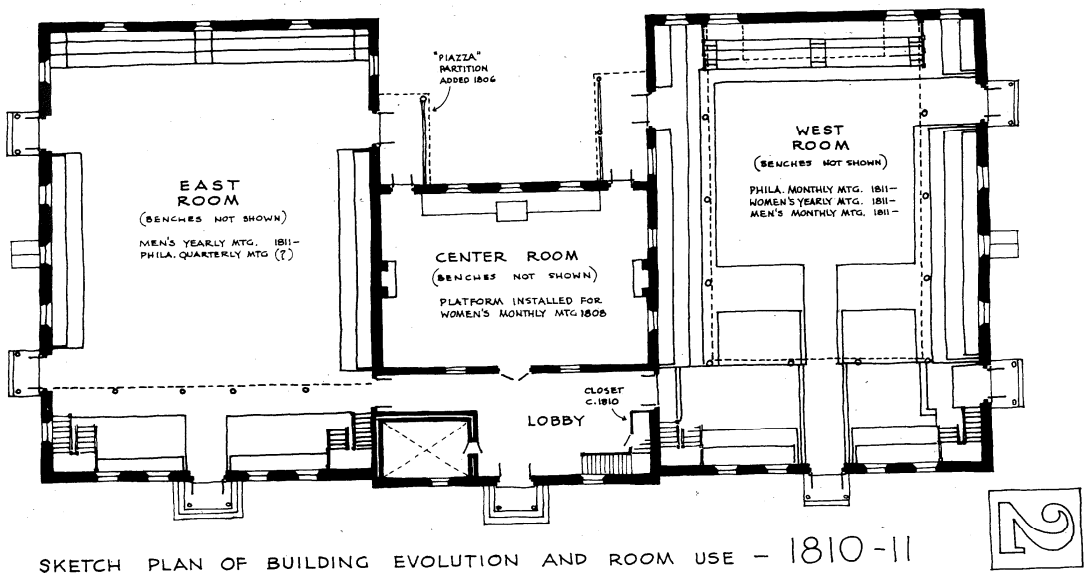
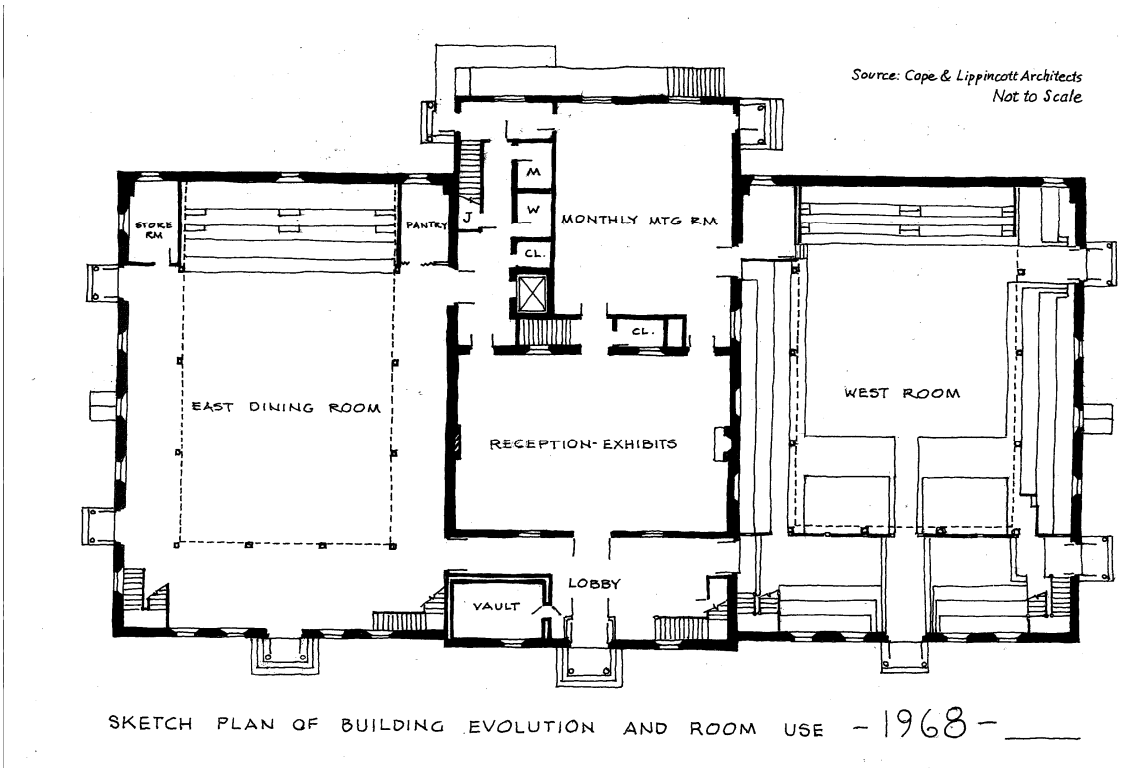
NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM
November 18, 2010



Arch Street Friends Meeting House, site plan and NHL boundary.
Cope & Lippincott Architects, 2006 (Philadelphia Yearly Meeting)





First-floor plan, top in 1810-11, bottom since 1968.
Cope & Lippincott Architects, 2006 (Philadelphia Yearly Meeting)

Perspective view, front (north) facade, looking southeast.
Photograph from HABS, Joseph Elliott, photographer, 2000

Entrance gates along Arch Street, looking south.
Photograph from HABS, Joseph Elliott, photographer, 2000

Elevation, center pavilion, looking south.
Photograph from HABS, Joseph Elliott, photographer, 2000

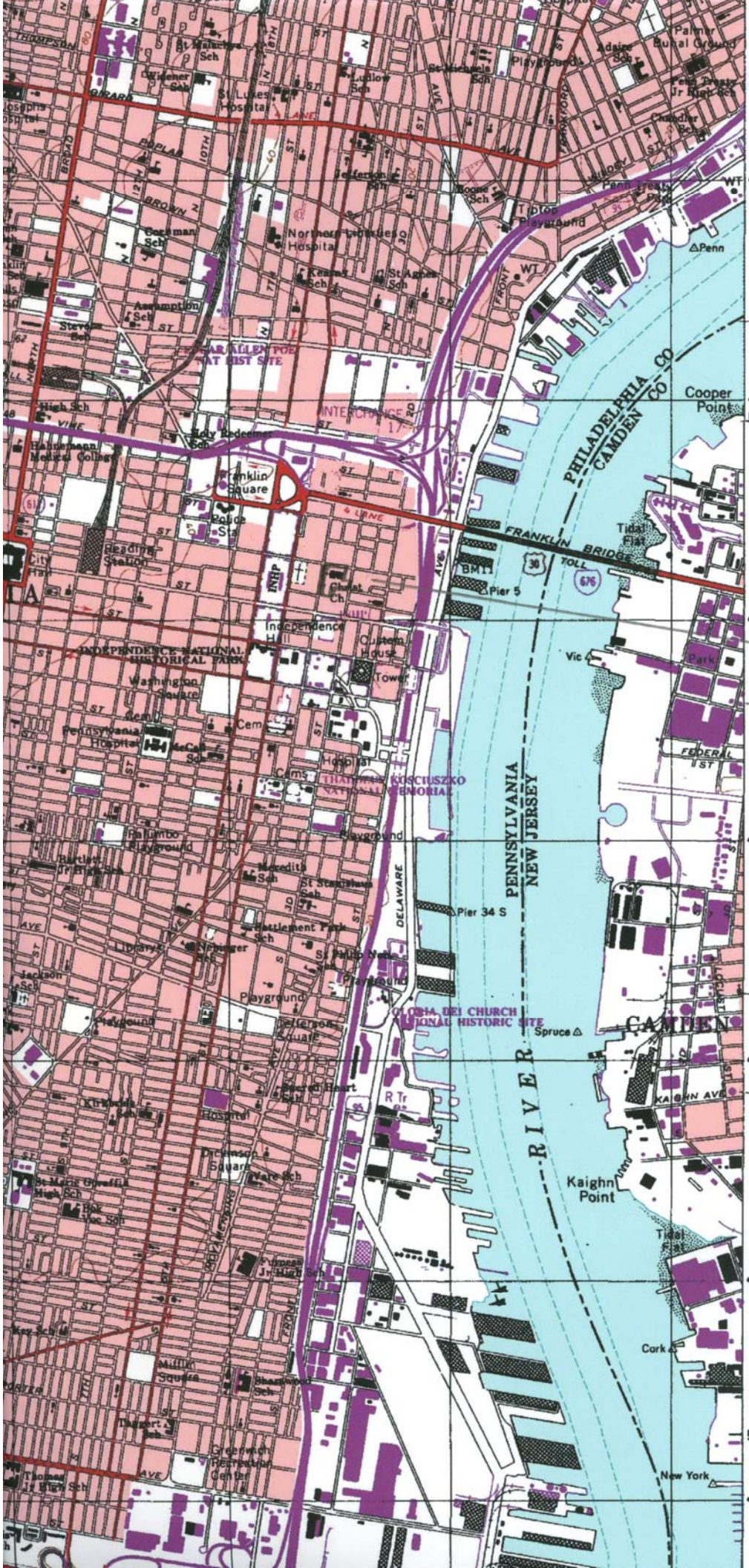
Typical entry portico and doorway.
Photograph from HABS, Joseph Elliott, photographer, 2000

Typical window and shutters.
Photograph from HABS, Joseph Elliott, photographer, 2000

Interior view, West Room, looking south towards facing benches.
Photograph from HABS, Joseph Elliott, photographer, 2000

Interior view, West Room, from gallery looking southwest.
Photograph from HABS, Joseph Elliott, photographer, 2000

Interior view, East Room facing benches.
Photograph from HABS, Joseph Elliott, photographer, 2000



Arch Street Meeting House
Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania

Zone 18
Easting 487420
Northing 4422230